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ARCHÆOLOGIÆ

ATTICÆ

LIBRI SEPTEM.

SEVEN BOOKS OF THE ATTICK Antiquities.

CONTAINING

The discription of the Cities glory, government, division of the People, and Townes within the *Athenian* Territories, their Religion, Superstition, Sacrifices, Account of their Year, a full relation of their Judicatories. By *FRANCIS ROUS* Scholar of *Merton* College in *OXON.*

With an Addition of their Customes in Marriages, Burials, Feastings, Divinations, &c. in the four last Books, By *ZACHART BOGAN*, Scholar of *C. C. C.* in *Oxon.*

The Seventh Edition Corrected and Enlarged with a threefold Index, *Rerum & Verborum.*

Arist. [illegible]

OXFORD,
Printed by *Henry Hall* for *John Adams*, and *Edward Forrest*. 1671.

ATTICÆ

TO THE

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL

Sr NATHANIEL BRENT Knight,
Vicar Generall, and the moſt vigilant
Warden *of* Merton College
in OXFORD, *Health,*
&c.

IT is the cuſtome of moſt, to impoſe a patronage of their errours upon ſome eminent perſon. But it ſhall be my ambition in this my Dedication to manifeſt my obſervancie. Others make their choice of potent men, thereby to ſhun the darts of envy: it ſhall be my glory to be thought worthy of invidency; whoſe ignorance is not ſo great, but well

knows that ever ſome will bite in ſecret, & ſcourge theſe errours of my youth with private reproaches. But ſuch malignant tongues I will counterpoiſe with the wind, and ſet as lightly by as they are vain. And although I am confidently perſwaded that the covert of your wings bee ſufficiently able to ſhelter my faults, yet had I rather to expreſſe my duty towards you in theſe naked infirmities, whoſe goodneſſe truly knows how * to pardon the bold adventures of Learning. I preſent you therefore With *Athens*, whoſe deplorable raggedneſſe my papers well reſemble: which may challenge this excuſe, that they aſſimulate themſelves to the Treatiſe in them contained; Which of all men, I my ſelf am conſcious moſt unfitly to have handled. That City once the * nurſe of reaſon, * which flouriſhd in eloquence, & brave atchievements more than all *Greece*, could not, unleſſe in her miſerable ruines, have without her diſgrace been ſpoken of by me. That *Athens* whence the learned Fathers of the Church ſuckt rare literature, *Baſil* his eloquence

* Anſis literarum ignoſce. re Vegerius in Prolog.

* Cic' Epiſt. * Parercul. in fine Lib. 1.

eloquence, *Nazianzen* his ſtrength, & others their flowing Oratory. That *Athens* which who had not ſeene it is by * *Lyſippus* accounted a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, theſe Reliques of that famous Vniverſity, though by me offered, as Devotion paid to Antiquity, by you well eſteemed of, though among moſt of theſe our dayes accounted dirt; whoſe labour it is to ſeek new factions, and like nought, but what may be accounted novelty. Reſembling the brute, of which *Cicero, Ad id ſolum quod adeſt, quodq; præſens eſt ſe accommodat, paulum admodum ſentiens præteritum, &c.* never caring for what is paſt. But you weigh well the excellency of talking with thoſe Champions of Learning, hundreds of years ſince gathered to their former duſt, by whoſe penſils we ſee drawn the lively images of deceaſed Monarchs, the forms of government, & very lives of ſtates. Out of which patternes, if you pleaſe to deeme the leaſt part of this to have beene taken, it ſhall heap to my joy that the following Tract will not ſeem a ſpurious and degenerate

* Apud Dicæarchum Εἰμὶ πθίαμος τὴς Ἀμβλωνίας, γέλως. χ ὄ.

generate offspring. Upon presumption of which I fear not, as the Eagles do their young, to expose my brood to the rayes of the open Sunne. Thus with continuall wishes for addition to your happinesse, I take leave, From my Study in *Merton College* Jun. 9. 1637.

Your worships in all humility

to be commanded

F. ROUS.

TO

To the READER.

IT *is not a thirſt of empty glory that makes me run the hazard of your cenſure, but a conſideration of the weakneſſe of School-Maſters, who undertake to read the Greek Orators to raw Scholars, themſelves being not ripe in the* Attick *Cuſtomes. I have therefore ſo farre endeavoured as you ſee. If any thing may afford a ſcruple to any, he ſhall engage mee that will require ſatisfaction. If any thing ſeem amiſſe, it ſhall be taken by mee as a favour to hear of it from any. For I am not of thoſe whoſe eares are ſtopt, when their errours*

are

are told them. If this please, it shall adde spurres to the finishing of this course intended, & as occasion may give leave, you shall have the rest that may be spoken.

Yours

F. R.

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2 *Athenarum situs,* Ἄστυ, πόλις, Ἀκρόπολις, *Herba lucentes, Murus, Pelasgicus & cimonicus, Propylaa circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ,* ἄστυ & πόλις. *Piraei brachia. Murus phalericus, Porta, Aer, Lacus passim apud Scriptores, Cephissus fluvius.* pag. 6

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ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ.

LIB. I. CAP. I.

Javan, Jas, Jaones, Jonia. Ἀτθὶς, Ἀκτὴ, Ἀττὶκὴ. Athena in Attâ, Cecropia, Cranaa. Atthis, Attica, Athena sub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni. Plutarchi ea de re sententia. Alii sub Erechtheo volunt nominari. Justinus sub Amphictyone. Salenes. Selines. Satina. Sethina.

BY the Sons of *Noah* [a] were the Isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his Tongue, when by their audacious folly they would have mounted up to Heaven, thinking to leave a name to Posterity, by building Castles in the Air. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely a *scattering abroad* upon the face of the earth: the having so spoken it, whose breath alone affords a fair wind: hoist then they must their Sails, and bidding adieu to the plain in the Land of *Shinar*, seek out some new habitation. Travellers they were of yore, and yet still must journey. Each one in as different a course, as of a divers language. The Sons of *Shem* their way, the Sons of *Japhet* theirs; *Gomer* and *Magog* and *Madai*, and *Javan*, with whom I propose one furlong

[a] Gen. 10. 5.

to keep company, leaving the rest on one side or other, or behind, looking only to my proposed scope. *b* Ἅπαντα δὲ τὰ ἀπ' Ἰάονος καὶ Ἕλληνες Ἰάονες γεγόνασι. From *Javan* came *Jonia* and *all the Greeks*. And in Scripture we have *Javan* put for *Greece*, in *Daniel* twice, *c* *And when I am gone forth, lo the Prince of Grecia shall come*. And again, *d* *He shall stir up all against the Realm of Grecia*. Where although the old Translation renders it not *Javan*, yet it is found in the Original. He then coming into the Country, called afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was tearmed *Jonia* and *Jas*, *e* ἀφ' ὧν Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο. *For Attica was anciently called Jonia and Jas*. In which words we still retain some reliques of the Radix, notwithstanding the small difference of the termination. But if we please to veiw after what title the *sons of Javan* were stiled *Jaones*, we shall come nearer home. *Strabo* in the above quoted place, Ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὕτω Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονας καὶ Ἀθηναίους λέγει. *Homer*, when he saies, *There the Bœotians & Jaones*, speaks of the *Athenians*. The *Scholiast* of *Æschylus* on these Words,

f Ἰάονα γλῶσ' ὀίχεται φώνημ' ἔχειν.

f Ἰσέον ἤτοι Ἰάονας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγονται ἀπὸ τινος Ἴωνος Βασιλεύσαντος αὐτῶν. *It is to be understood*, quoth he, *that the Athenians are tearmed Jaones, from one Iaon* (he means *Iavan*) *that was their King*. Neither is it strange that the ν or ὕψιλον is left out, for though it be not written, yet perswaded I am, that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* Dipthongs were. For the *g* antique Latines & the Greeks spake it as broad *a*, as if it had been *Thesaros*, not *Thesauros*. Sir *Walter Raleigh* is of opinion, *That Asia the less had people before Greece had any, and that Iavan did not flie from Babylonia into Greece, but took Asia the less in his passage, and from thence past over the nearest way, leaving his own name to some maritimate Province on that side, as he did to that part so called*. In which, although the authority of so worthy & judicious a Man might move much, yet it shall be sufficient for me, only to go so far, as antiqui-

b Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. p. 13.

c Dan. 10 20.

d Cap. 11. 2.

e Strabo l. 9. p. 392.

f In persis p. 133.

g Donat. in Ter. p. 130.

ty will bear me out. *a Thucydides* reports, that it is manifeſt that all *Greece* was not βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, firmly inhabited. but that there were continual Pilgrimages, or Removings of the Inhabitants, forſaking their former places, being driven out by a ſtronger and greater number. Wherefore when there was no ſafe traffick or commerce by Sea or Land, each manured his Grounds to have Provent alone to ſerve for preſent neceſsity, deſiring no more than from hand to mouth; it being uncertain how ſoon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their ſeats; not taking grievous that ſharp charge, *veteres migrate coloni*, *Be gone you ancient Bores.* But the more fertil Soil had hard bickrings. *Theſſalia*, *Bœotia*, and a great part of *Peloponneſus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled, Τὴν γὰρ Ἀττικὴν, διὰ τὸ ἀπρόσοικον τὸ πρῶτον ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὄντα οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεὶ. *But Attica by reaſon of the thinneſs or barrenneſs of the ground, was always inhabited by the ſame men* (none it ſeems being willing to leave his better for a worſe) *not affording fuel to contention.* Out of which peace ſprung up ſo great a multitude that *Attica*, even now ſwarming, and οὐκ ἰσοδυναμοῦσα τρέφειν *not able to contain and feed ſo many*, is conſtrained to ſend forth Colonies into *Ionia*, a region of *Aſia* the leſs, which is reported by the *greeks* to borrow denomination from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, or, as the Poets ſay, *Apollo* and *Creuſa*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be *c* Κτίστης καὶ ἀρχηγὸς γῆς, *the maker or founder of Aſia.* The Mother *Ionia* (for ſo I pleaſe to ſay) kept not ſtill her former name. For in proceſs of time ſhe owned *Actæa*, from *Actæon*, as *d Strabo* ſayes, or from *Actæus*, according to *e Pauſanias*, who was the firſt King thereof, by *f Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*, called *Actæus*. But *g Dion Chryſoſtom* brings a more natural reaſon than this, why it was *Actæa*: *Acta* ſignifies a *ſhore*, both in the *Greek* and * *Latine* ſpeech. Now becauſe all of it within a little was waſhed with the Sea, and *h* ἀκτοῦσθαι, it might challenge unto it ſelf *Actæa*. *Dion.*

a Lib. 1. p. 2.

b Thucid.

c In Ione T. 2. p. 619.

d Lib 9. p. 397.

e In Att. p. 2.

f Pag. 23.

Orat. 6.

* Virg. Æn. 5 p. 214.

h Strabo l. 9. p. 391.

ἐπὶ γῆ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἀκτὴ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ, καὶ ἡ Ἀκτὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκαλεῖτο. Hence Acte by the Enigmatical Poet in his *i Cassandra* is put for this Countrey. *Tzetzes. Because it is* (Acta) *a cliffe, that is cast and lying in the Sea.* And Athens herself by Plautus is said, *Athenæ in acta, pro Atheniis Atticis*, as *k Palmerius* hath noted. But this grew old after a season, and Cecrops having maried the Daughter of *Actæus*, glories in his *Cecropias* and *Athens Cecropie, and Cecropis civitas*, and after that *Cranae*, from *Cranaus* the King that succeeded him.) this *Cranaus* among other of his daughters, had one *l Atthis*, from whom also was derived *Atthis* and *Attica*, next *Posidonia* and *Minerva*, from *Neptune* and *Pallas*. In this region stood *Athens*, *Queen of Greece*, so called from that victory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when *Cecrops* moved with a Prodigie of a sudden shooting up of an Olive, and bubling forth of a salt spring in the *Acropolis*, consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one did signifie *Neptune*, and the other *Minerva*, taking therefore the men into suffrages for *Neptune*, and the women for *Minerva*, who had most voices should carrie it. The females being more, the Goddess bore away the Bell. Lo here a witty Divel to bring in ἐν χωίοις ἔπη, Gods of his own making, to infold the superstitious in an ignorant zeal. However let us leave the shadow of poetical fictions, & take the true draught out of *Mythologie*. *Plutarch* is of opinion that the ancient Kings, striving to draw away their Subjects from seafaring negotiations, and a desire to live by sailing, unto tillage and manuring of ground, gave occasion of the speech that *Neptune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the City. Ἐριν, &c. *Neptune* is put for the Sea, and businesses thereof, *Minerva* for Arts and ingenious kind of life, may saies *Ovid* in his Kalender, *Mille Dea est operum*, she is Goddess of a 1000 Trades. Others say that the City was consecrated to her by *Amphictyon, & primen civitati Athenas dedit.* ς *Justine*. Others in the time of *Erectheus*; among which is *Herodotus*, will have this

name

i Pag. 22.

k In Spicilegiis.

l Strabo & Paus. locis præd.

a Varro apud August. l. 18. c. 9. de civit. Dei.

b in Them. p. 87. l. 23.

c Lib. 2.

name given. With Author *Marcianus Heracleota* doth follow, Ἀθῆναι ἡ χθὲς καὶ πρώην καὶ νῦν καλουμένη Ἀθῆναι πρότερον ἐκλήθη Ἀκτὴ καὶ Μουνυχία καὶ Κραναὰ καὶ Κεκροπία καὶ Ἐρεχθηὶς καὶ Πανδιονὶς καὶ Λεωσσὶς καὶ Αἰγηὶς καὶ Πάνδροσος καὶ Ἀκταία καὶ Ἀστυ καὶ Πόλις καὶ Ἀθῆναι καὶ τελευταῖον Ἀθῆναι. This was that Erechtheus, who in a time of ἄγονον. drought over all the world, except *Ægypt*, brought Corn to *Athens*, and taught the *Eleusinian Mysteries*. Beholding this City hath been to *Ægypt* for other Kings, to wit, *Cecrops* and *Menesthew*, for his Father *Peteus* was an *Ægyptian*. In the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, and before him it was received opinion that *Athens* was peopled by the *Ægyptians*. *Sais* in that tongue answering to *Athena* in *Greek*, as *Tzetzes* out of *Carax*. Nay that they should be of the inhabitants of *Sais*, they argue from this, Because that the *Saitæ* and *Athenians* have diters customs alike. Witness *Diodorus Siculus*. But it pleases not me. I conjecture that first it was called *Athens*, when the people came more seriously to addict themselves to civil Government, and study of good Literature; knowledg and art being ascribed to *Minerva*, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπιστήμην συνιδεῖν καὶ τέχνην, sayes *f* Aristotle. Nay her Name being derived from the old Punic *Thena* in the *Chaldy* tongue signifying to *study* or *learn*: from which comes *Thena*, and with an article *Hatthena* as *g* Heinsius the most learned. As for the conceit of *Gerardus Vossius*, from *Athena* the number of three, which notes eternity, and so from *Athena* Athena. Because wisdom doth contain Eternity, let us send it back into *Germany*. Loe now Athens named from learning, which was once the *shop of letters* and the Muses, whereof it is now deplorably destitute, having lost the glory of former Athens, nay the name it self. For if we believe some, they tell us that now it is *Setines* or *Selines*; to whom I accord not, because that I have read *Selinus* for *Megara* called *Nisæa*, which is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in discourse with a native of *Peloponnesus*, who lived many years in that City, I had no other appellation fro him than *Athena*, which others write *Sais* to be corrupted as *Martius* and *Mensius* truly think for *Martius* and *Mensius*. Nay *Hugo Favolius*, who was himself

e Aristoph. sch. pag. 79. Tzetz. in Lycoph p. 23.

f Polit. l. 8. c. 9.

g In Aristar. Sac. Synt. 1. 1. 1 pag. 27.

h Isidor.

i In Hodæp. Byz. l. 3.

himself, even to the same purpose, names it *Sethina*,

Undique ſit miſero nobis ſpectanda Athenæ,
Dædala quas Pallas ſeſe coluiſſe negavit,
Quas, Neptune pater, nunquam tua mania dicas,
Indigenæ Sethinæ vocant.

We wretched *Athens* round do view, which now,
Though once ingenuous *Pallas* love, is her ſhame,
And t'have been thine, *Neptune*, would'ſt diſavow,
To which the homebred give *Sethina* name.

CAP. II.

Athenarum ſitus. Acropolis, Areopagus. Herba lucentes, Murus, Pelaſgicus & Cimonius, Propylæa. *Circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ: ἄνω & κάτω πόλις. Piræi brachia. Murus Phalericus. Portæ. Aër. Lacus paſſim apud ſcriptores. Cephiſſus Fluvius.*

b In Panath. p. 171. 172.

GReece, ſays *b Ariſtides*, is placed in the midſt of the whole Earth, and in the midſt of it ſtands *Attica*; the navel whereof is *Athens*, by which all *Greece*, cloſeted in the womb of time, received nouriſhment before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. She is ſeated upon a very high Rock, which habitations do in-

c Lib. 9. p. 396. compaſs, as *c Strabo*: on the top of which ſtands that renowned Fabrick even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himſelf names *Cecropia*,

* Plin. Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56. of old ἄστυ, *The city*, by a kind of excellence, in a bravado of their Antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetual contention with the *Argivi*. Witneſs

d In Art. p. 13. l. 16. *d Pauſanias*. *e Terent. An in aſtu venit?* Donat. *Sic Athenienſes urbem ſuam vocabant, unde ipſi incolæ ἀστοὶ vocantur.* So, ſaith he, the *Athenians* called that City, whence the Citizens themſelves are called *aſtoi*: after that they called it πόλις

e Eunuch. act. 5. ſc. 6. *f Pauſanias*. Which in this time was called Acropolis or the high City; although it be often interpreted *Arx*, a Caſtle;

f Attic. p. 24. l. 43.

which

which ever were sacred to *Minerva*, as g *Aristides*. Who therefore is by *Claudian* in his *Argonauticks*, named *Diva regentem in summis urbibus arces*; *The Goddess that keeps the Turrets of Cities*. This only now remains the succor and shelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being strongly furnished with men and Arms, in which alone dwell Janizaries to the number of seven hundred thousand, as *Christophorus Angelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing least he had mistaken the number. As for the Forces thereof a *Hugo Favolius* shall thus instruct you,

g Orat. in Minerv. To. 2. p. 21.

a Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore montis edem
Quæque impôsita jugo est, vasta prospectat in undas
Æquoris, & circum dispersa napæa, & omnes
Externo indigenas nocuo tutatur ab hoste,
Nobilis arx, toto qua non est altera Graio
Nota magis regno, validisque instructior armis,
Ignivomoque magis tormentorum impete tuta.

A Castle only famous at this day,
Set on an Hill, below which views the Sea.
The scattered thatcht sheds that stand it about,
The Fort descends and keeps Invasion out,
And Natives safe. A Fort, none noted more
In *Greece*, which hath a better Warlike store,
Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

Upon the top of this Turret stands the fashions of Half Moons most rarely gilded, after the manner of the *Ishmaelites*, who have the Moon in no small honor, as my much honored Mr b *Selden* hath observed. Of which Lunulets thus speaks *Favolius*.

b De Diis Syris, Syn. 2. cap. 2. p. 288.

Cujus inauratis longe rutilantia Lunis
Ardua culivagas ferunt fastigia nubes.

Whose top with gilded Moons aspiring high,
Do knock the Clouds the Pilgrims of the sky.

Neither may it pass obscurely which I have taken up, being let fall frō the mouth of an eye-witness, namely, that on the

side

side this Hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, grows a certain kind of herb, that farre off, in the night season, gives a most shining and glittering light, to which when a man shall approach he shall discern nothing but the herb it self. Of which matter I seriously with that I could testifie the truth: it was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit. The Walls that environ this are none now saies *Strabo*, but in former time it hath been well fenced; some part thereof erected by those two *Tuscan* Brothers, who leaving their Countrey, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called Πελαργοὶ, *Pelargi*, Storks, by reason of their wandring. *a Strabo.* *b Plinie* layes their names were *Eurialus* and *Hyperbius*. The two that first built houses of Brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had Caves for dwelling places. But by the authority of *Pausanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author and the persons wrong, in putting a false name upon one of them, I will do them none. Read then *Lateraria domus constituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. *c Pausanias*, περὶ Ἀχαΐας καὶ Τριζηνίων. From these was that part which they edified, called *Pelargicum*. *Aristophanes in Avibus.*

a Lib. 9. pag. 397. b Nat. hist. l. 7. c. 65

Τὸ δ' ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐκέτι νῦν τὸ Πελαργικὸν;

c In Atic. p. 26. l. 34.

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Simon* the Son of *Miltiades* cloathed. *Pausanias* in the fore-quoted place. These walls admitted no gate but one, so rarely beautified with that costly *Propylæum* or porch, on which *Pericles* is discommended by *d Demetrius Phalareus* for disbursing so great a sum of money. *e* For which he was not finally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people. His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore seeing Him somewhat sad, and demanding the cause, to whom when his unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, seek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counsel the *Athenians* were entangled with their neighbour War against the *Lacedæmonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an edict.

d Tul. Off. l. 2. e Val. Max. l. 3. c. 7.

By

By the way it ſhall be fit to acquaint you wᵗʰ thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as *f Plutarch* ἐν τῷ ἀπολύσει τῆς Βοώνης, it may be, for his heat in Venery and ill favour. Goats likewiſe, ſays *g Varro*, came not thither, unleſs for a neceſſary ſacrifice once, leſt they ſhould hurt the *Olive*, which is ſaid firſt to have ſprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is ſaid to be threeſcore ſtadia. Now a *Stadium* is about ſome *ſix hundred and twenty five feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the cuſtome of the ancient Greeks, ſo to meaſure the length or diſtance of grounds or Cities, by the* στάδια. The firſt City then is contained in ſeven miles and an halfe. But to this were added more houſes, able to make a City of themſelves. And ſo indeed were they diſtinguiſhed by ἄνω & κάτω πόλις. The upper and lower City. ſ *Plutarch*, ἡ κάτω ἢ περὶ Θαλάσσης οἰκουμένη πάλαι ἄνω πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Note here moreover, in the reading of your Greek Authors, that when you meet with τὰ ἄνω in the *deſcription* of a *Country*, you preſently muſt conceive the higher part, if it be τὰ κάτω, the lower. *a Thucydides.* ἐσπέμπετο τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἄστει ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Θαλάσσῃ καὶ τῶν κάτω. *And they preyed upon each other, and among the reſt, who were not addicted to the Sea, yet lived below*, underſtand near the Sea, *Schol.* κάτω λέγει ἐγγὺς τῆς Θαλάσσης. The τὰ ἄνω then and τὰ κάτω knit together, made but one joynt corporation; both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themſelves, took up, as *b Dion Chryſoſtom* writes, two hundred *Stadia*, which is about five and twenty miles. Upon which place, *Morellus* produces a *Scholiaſt* teſtifying that the walls were μίλια ιε. πλὴν στάδιον ἑνός, fifteen miles ſave one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had not ſoon perceived the number to have been corrupt, and written κε for ιε, twenty for fifteen; for ſo it ought to be. Neither is it ſtrange that it had ſo large a bound. For conſider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned five miles, as you may ſee in *c Pliny*, from *Athens* to *Phalerum*, and ſo to the other ſide of *Piræum*; four miles and

f Ἑλλάνικ. pag. 175.
g De re Ruſt.
* *Five feet make a pace, and a thouſand paces a mile.*
Iſidor. Orig. l. 15. c. 16.
b In Phoc. p. 549. l. 47.
a Lib. 1. pag. 6. 2.
b Orat. 6.
c Nat. hiſt. l. 2. c. 85.

and a quarter. The utmoſt wall of which *Thucydides* ſpeaks in the ſecond Book, conſiſted of five miles a quarter & half. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munychia* had ſeven miles and an half more. All which being put together, makes up but twenty two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chryſoſtom* muſt be here underſtood, and it behoves us to conceive that he ſpake not barely of the naked walls, for then it cannot hold; but I ſuppoſe ſome houſes to have been without τεῖχος ἐρείπιον, as he ſaies, τὰ δ' ἔτι δ', οἰκίαι δὴ πάλαι ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις. In which I appeal to more judicious heads. Neither can I ſilently paſs by the opinion of *John Meurſius*, who reading in *Pauſanias* theſe words, Ἀθηναίοισιν δὲ καθεῖται μάλιστα οἱ πρὸς θαλάσσης τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπὶ τείχεσι θάλασσαν, ſhould preſently obtrude to us, that *Pauſanias* teaches, that the *f* wall called *Phalericus* is but twenty *ſtadia*, or two mile and an half. When indeed he meant nothing leſs. For ſpeaking of ſalt ſprings, which he calls ἁλμώδεις ὑδάτων, he ſeems to involve a reaſon drawn from the nearneſs of the Sea. For when he writes of this brackiſh well, *Among the Athenians, the Sea which comes up near Phalerus, is diſtant from the City but twenty ſtadia at the moſt*, quoth he. Where *Amaſæus* hath thus ſtrangly doted. *Athenæ à Phalero abſunt ſtadia haud amplius xx.* And that this was the meaning of the Author, proves that which follows. He might have likewiſe conſidered that πρὸς with a Dative caſe, ſignifies not only *juxta* and *prope*, as I have tranſlated it, but *ſupra* ſometime, which will now ſerve better. And *Meurſius* indeed blames the number, but ſees not into the words. Now it is not needleſs that the two walls, which joyn *Piræum* and *Athens* at ſo long a diſtance, be ſomewhat ſpoken of, ſeeing they are reckoned by *a Livie* among the *multa viſenda*, Many things worthy of ſight at *Athens*. Theſe are the μακροὶ τοῖχοι, in *b Propertius*, *Theſea brachia longa via*. *c Appian* of Alexandria μακροὶ στοῖχοι, and *d Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which *e Plutarch*. The other towards the South, in

d Loco citato.

e In Arcad. p. 244. l. 37.

f Art. Lect. l. 3. c. 4.

a Lib. 31.

b Lib. 3. Eleg. 19 p. 192.

c In bello Mith. p. 125. l. 9.

d Pag. 355. l. 10.

e In pericle. p. 115. l. 20.

In height about forty Cubits, as *f Appian* teſtifies. Theſe are called Διὰ μέσου τοῦ χ by *g Dion Chryſoſtom*, becauſe *Athens* being at one end, & *Pyræum* at the other, theſe were drawn forth between. And when Writers ſpeak of Νότιον διὰ μέσου τοῦ χ, it may be conjectured that 'tis for diſtinction of that Νότιον τοῦ χ in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, *h* witneſs *Pauſanias*. *Ariſtophanes* ſeems to bring authority for an opinion that *Themiſtocles* built theſe *In i Equitibus*:

Τὸν Πειραιᾶ περιβαλεῖν.

Which his *k* Scholiaſt affirms, Τὸν δὲ Πειραιᾶ Θεμιστοκλῆς περιεβάλετο τῷ ἄστει. *For Themiſtocles added Pyræum to the City.* We read in *l Probus* that he was the onely Agent in walling the City, & that he ſo haſtned the accompliſhing, that they were fain to be as it were Sacrilegious, and make uſe of Materials formerly conſecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But *Plutarch* gain-ſaies this, and that he did only τὸν ἀστικὸν ἐξαίρετον τοῦ περιβόλου, καὶ τὸν γῦρον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, conjoyn the City and *Pyræum*, and put the Land to take acquaintance with the Sea. It ſeems ſomewhat forward before. However, ſo fenny was the ground it was founded upon, that the work ſoon came to great reparation, which *a Cimon* the ſon of *Miltiades* undertook. For with Stones of a huge weight, and Lime, he made the Earth ſo firm that it could not give. Nay he was ſo liberal, that he did out of his own expenſes ſo great favours to a People, that ſome years after gratifyed him with exile. Neither did he only mend the breaches, but in after time *o* finiſhed the whole work, ſo that he may truely be ſaid to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City.* *Meurſius* hath obſerved ten, but I fear they will ſcarce ſuffice to ſuch a vaſt City. Take then theſe, *Dipylon* or *Thriaſia*, the faireſt of all, *velut in ore urbis poſita*, placed as it were in the front of the City, ſayes *Livie*, *major aliquanto patentiorque quàm cætera eſt*, greater ſomewhat and wider than the reſt. Hence I ſuppoſe named *Dipylon*, as if were as big as two Gates. Πυλαία. *Pi-*

f In Mith. p. 124. l. ult.
g Orat. 6.
h In Attic. p. 19. l. 8.
i P. 337.
k p. 338. A. col. 2
l In Them p. 27.
m in Them. p. 87. l. 25.
n Plut. in Cim. p. 355. l. 14.
o Plut. p. 355. l. 32. *nalisi* τὸ ἄστεσι *may have reſpect to Conon, who after the victory at Caidus excelled theſe walls, as* Pauſan. in Attic. p. 2. l. 14. *I would neither deceive my ſelf nor the Reader.*
* Attic. Lect. initio.
p Dec. 4 l. 1. p. 11. A.

raica, neer the Temple of *Chalcodon*. Here were buried some of those that died in fight with the *Amazons* in the time of *Theseus*, q *Plutarch.* Ἱππάδι, *Hippades*, where the bones of *Hyperides* the famous Orator rest with his Progenitors, who being racked under *Antipater*, chose rather to bite off his tongue, than to divulge the secrets of his country. a Ἱεραὶ, *Sacra*, the Sacred Gate. We read of this in b *Theophrastus's Characters*, but to my great admiration that the Eagle-sighted *Casaubon* had not espy'd a fault. For though it be true that there were such gates at *Athens* as Ἱεραὶ, yet is there any that ever read τὸν νεκρὸν Ἱερὰς πύλας ἐξενεχθῆναι τεθάφθαι, the dead to have been carried out to burial through the sacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was spoken to a stupid fellow, for they spake not as our vulgar do, such as *who was Christ married unto the Queen of Wales*, write then Ἐρεχθεὶς. Ἐρεχθεῖα are the gates at which they went forth with their corps at the solemnizations of their obsequies, the reason of which shall be spoken hereafter. c *Demosthenes*, Αἰγέως πύλαι, The gates of *Ægeus*. It seems to have been in *Delphinium* where he dwelt, whence the *Hermes* or Image towards the East end of the Temple was called d Ἑρμῆς ὁ Αἰγέως πύλαις *The statue at the gates of Ægeus*: Μελιτίδης *Melitides*, Where lyes *Thucydides* the son of *Olorus* that wrote the *Peloponesian War*, who after his return into his countrey from banishment, was treacherously murthered, his Sepulchre stands neer these gates. e *Pausanias*, Κεραμεικὸς, *Ceramicus*. These are called by *Xenophon* αἱ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ πύλαι, *The gates in Ceramicus*, where many of the *Lacedemonians* were buried, wch died in the seditious War, that *Thrasybulus* made against the *Thirty Tyrants*. f *Xenophon*, Ἀχαρνικαὶ πύλαι, The gates of *Diochares*. Of whom I have nought to speak. Ἀχαρνικαὶ πύλαι, The *Atharnan gates*. I suppose they were called so from the Town or Village neer, named *Acharna*, to which it is probable it looked. For so did the ancients name their Gates from the Town to which they were neer. The *Romans* their *porta Collatina*,

from

q In Thesco. p. 2. l. 20.

a ἐν βίοις τ ἱερῶν p. 456.

b περὶ ἀναισθησίας. p. 45.

d pag. 715. num. 95.

d Plut. Thes. p. 4. l. 21.

e Atticis p. 21. l. 41.

f Ἑλλην. β p. 178. l. 43.

from *Collatia*, a Bridge not far off. And happily it is so here, as also in Δίομεα, *Diomea*, for *Diomus* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter distant from the City. Θρεγλαι, *Thracia*. These are all that I met with named. Others there are obscurely pointed at by *g Pausanias*, as that neer the Gallery, which from its various draughts, they call *Pœcile*, where is the effigies of *Mercurie* Agoræus in brass. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of which I had better hold my peace, than speak as good as nothing. Thus have we found twelve gates which being opened, enter, suck that sweet air, whose excellent purity brought forth such acute wits, *a* and prepared with a most happy bounty understanding judgements for contemplation. Whence *Euripides* may well strein to this note, that *Venus* sitting neer and adorning herself, sends forth continually *Cupids of Learning*, μαθήσεως ἔρωτας ξυμπέμπει. Well may he bless that clime stiling it, ἐλλαδοτρόφον γαῖαν θεᾶς, which hath been the mother of the *Muses* (by the leave of *Mnemosyne*) or at least the Nurse to them, for there are they said to have travelled with *Harmonia*, as if there were no such melodious concent, as in the Sciences. Let not *d Theophrastus* assert all *Greece* to lie under the same temperature & disposition of the heavens, when at this day it may be spoken, as once *Aristides* did of it, *e* No coast so truely void of all earthly dregs, and participating more of the celestial and defecated air. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* been lavish in expressions, *f Famous*, *g The most renowned*, h *Happy*, i *Sacred Athens*. *Pindarus*, k *Wonderful*, l *much spoken of*, m *Neat*, *&c.* To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephissus*, which is able to bear Vessels of a good burthen, as I have been informed, but the *Turks* fearing least it might be advantagious to an enemie that might invade them, have cut it into many & sundry little streams, damming up with an innumerable quantity of stones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they have sufficiently prevented that, which they did but suppose could happen.

CAP.

Meursius hath added two, Itonex, et Scæx. in Atticis, which I never saw until I had written this place, as God and man is witness, I speak least any should think I have flo'n out of him, because we met.

a Cassiod. Var. l. 12.
b Medea p. 460, 461.
c Med. p. 459.
d In Præf. ad Charact.
e Tom. 1. p. 173.
f Ajax. p. 57.
g Oed. Col. p. 258.
h Oed. Col. p. 264.
i Ajax. p. 71.
k l m p. 391.

CAP. III.

Ἀστικοὶ, Ἀλιμαῖοι, Mores, & Ingenia. Ἀστυγείτονες. Quantum hodiernis differunt à veteribus, & qualem vitæ rationem modumque habuit.

l ἐν βίῳ βλασφ. p. 169.

THE *Athenians* by *l Dicæarchus* are divided into two sorts, Ἀστικοὶ, *Atticos*, and Ἀλιμαῖοι. Of which, though there were no difference in later times, yet certainly of old there was: Insomuch as one of the punishments, which the *Athenians* are said to inflict upon their women (for the appeasing of *Neptune*, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great dammage, in anger conceived for loss of the Title of the City) was this, *m* That none should after call them Ἀλιμαῖοι, *Athenians*, but Ἀστικοὶ, *Atticos*. A revenge I suppose opprobrious enough. For thus writes my Author. Οἱ ἀδολέσχαι καὶ τοῖς λαλεῖν ὑγιαῖοι, κατάσκοποι καὶ ξενικῶν βίων. *Curious babblers, Dectitful, Calumniators, Observers of the lives of strangers.* Παιδαγωγοὶ τοῖς λαλεῖν. A sufficient witness of this is *a* St *Luke*, that saies, *They did regard nothing more than to hear and speak novelty.* To which end they often met in Barbers shops, where all news, that was going in those days, were currant. Hence say we, *verba in tonsorinis proculcata*; and in Greek ἐν τοῖς κειρικοῖς λόγος, *b Aristophanes*.

m Varro apud Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 18. c. 9.

a Act. 17.

b In Pluto p. 38.

Καί τις λόγος χωλὸν τὸν Ἡφαιστίαν, πλούσιος
Ἐκ τῶν κειρικείων ἐξαπίνης ἀνὴρ γεγενῆσθαι.

They that sate in Barbers shops did talk much that he was suddenly grown rich. The Scholiast seems to take the meaning, as if the Comedian had quipped them for resorting to Barbers, and neglecting Barber Chyrurgions, of better credit. But I see no reason. They met in both to prattle. *c Aelian.* Καθιζομένου ἐν ἰατρείῳ, ἀγορᾷ, ἢ κειρεῖῳ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς

c Var. hist. lib. 3. c. 7.

ἀνὴρ ἰατρὸς. sitting in a Chyrurgions shop, scandalous, and thirsty to speak ill by all means, ὑποπτικὸς, men Italianated, who can smile even when they cut your throat. Such as *Theophrastus* hath in his Characters drawn out, who can be affable to their Enemies, and disguise their hatred in commendation, while they privily lay their snares, that salute with mortal Embracements, and clasp you in those armies, which they mean to embrew in your dearest Blood. In sum, fair without, but rotten within, like a Wound which is healed above and seems sound, but putrifies under the skin. And so much the word doth import. συκοφαντῶν, Given to false accusations. The *e* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes, That it being forbidden to carry Figs out of *Athens*, and some, nevertheless, the Decree being absolute against it, presuming so to do, they set Rogues in the Gates that did appeach them (as *f* *Plutarch* likewise.) Hence came this word to be used for any crafty Knave that gets his living by promoting, *g* ἐπὶ συκοφαντίᾳ ζῶν. One that meddles in every mans affairs, and therefore *h* *Aristophanes* hath fitly brought one upon the Stage, terming himself an *Overseer* both of private and publick matters. If then such a person had espied any tripping, and gotten him on the hip, he would as sure have fetched him over for his Coyn, as any *Summoner* doth a person delinquent towards the flesh, or any Lawyer a Credulous Client, and having well plumed him, afterwards give him a Dimissory. Ἐκπέσοι (*Sycophanta*) ἀφ' ἑστίας ὃν χρήματα λαμβάνουσι, ζημίων. *Xenophon*. Such were many in *Athens*, insomuch that *Aristotle* being asked what *Athens* was, answered πασῶν, *all beautiful*, ἀλλ' ὀψὲ ἐπιγινόμεναι, ὄγχνη δ' ἐπ' ὄγχνῃ, in a verse of *a Homer*, in the description of *Alcinous* his Garden, but pears grew ripe after pears, and figgs after figgs, meaning a continual succession of sycophants, this made *Isocrates*, the Orator to compare the city to a *Curtizan* with whom few there were but would have to do, yet none dare take to wife, affirming it the best place to sojourn in, but the worst to inhabit.

d Cap. ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπίας.

e In Plut. pag. 5.

f In Solone pag. 65.

g Xenophon. Ἑλλην. β. p. 271. l. 20.

h pluto p. 90. c. p. 91. b.

i Ἑλλη. β. p. 272. l. 19.

a Odyss. η.

By

By reason of their Sycophants and treacheries of nimble tongued Orators. Πολυπραγμοσύνη καὶ ξενηλασία βίου. I was once half in an opinion that these words were to have been put to the former, thus; πολυπράγμονες ξενικοῦ καὶ ξενηλασίας βίου. And I think the sence will run well, *Malicious observers of the lives of strangers.* The *Athenians* were φιλόξενοι, and held hospitality sacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law, *That forrainers should receive no wrong*, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται. *b* Socrates in *Xenophon.* Now he discommends the Attick as ready to trouble and vex strangers in law, duly marking & bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage. As for the *Athenienses* they were μεγαλόψυχοι, ἁπλοῖ καὶ τρόποις, φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, *Brave spirited, single dealing, & faithful friends.* But as the words were at length confounded, so did their manners *degenerate*, growing into ἀνωμαλίαν φύσεως, an *Irregularity of nature* as *c* Polybius. No μεγαλοψυχία afterwards, but haughtiness of spirit, magnanimity now fallen. And whē *d* Livy says, *Ex vetere fortunæ nihil præter animos servare*, he means, they had nothing left but those proud spirits, which their ancient flourishing fortune hath puffed up. No ἁπλότης or simplicity, *no* c *lamb-like innocency*, or *mildness*; but as *f* Plutarch speaks, *people rashly angry, soon pittiful, rather inclined sharply to take Opinion, than quietly to be Informed. And as they are ready to help base and abject peasants, so friendly do they entertain childish and ridiculous toyes, rejoycing in their own praises, and nothing moved with scurrility. Fearful and terrible even to their Governors, humane towards their Enemies.* Not unfitly then *g* Valerius Maximus, *Quantam ergo reprehensionem merentur, &c.* How deserve they to be blamed who though they had just laws, yet had most wicked dispositions, and chose rather to take their own courses, than put in practice their statutes? As for their impudence, so great was it, that to express a countenance void of shame, the Comœdian hath put Ἀττικὸν βλέμμα, An *Athenian look*, in *h* Nubibus.

b Απομνημ. β. p. 4. 28.

c Lib. 6.

d Dec. 4. p. 7. l. 1

e Aristoph. pag. 694.

f πολιτ. παραγγ. p. 387.

g Lib. 5. c. 3. pag. 207.

h Pag. 189. g.

φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, So accounted in the time of *a* Paterculus,

a Lib. 2. p. 47.

culus, that what was done in ſincerity and faithful truſt, the *Romans* would ſay it was performed *fide Attica*, with an *Athenian* loyalty. Fear and power might make them truſty, but how they broke their Leagues, took part with other *Iſlanders* againſt confederates, and violated the Laws of arms, Hiſtorians are not dumb. As for their wrath, it was *injarnor*, ever mindful, as *b Virgil. memor ira.* And the hatred they *c* proſecuted the Barbarians withal, was ſo unquenchable, that it burned againſt *c* all *Barbarians* for the *Perſians* ſake; and they forbad them their Sacrifices, as they uſed to do murderers among them: Where you muſt note, that all that were not *Gracians* were called of them *Barbarians*. But loe! how are they now become all *barbarous*! whether or no people of *Africa*, or ſome of the *Catelani*, I cannot juſtly tell. *Mahumetans* all, poor and miſerable, living by rapine, or fiſhing, or tilling the earth, *d Favolius. Duraq; exactis*

Pauperie aſſerunt vitam tolerare rapinâ.
Aut paſſim infeſtam furto, raptóq; propinqua
Æquora pirata, ſed qua pars æquior, hamis
Fallis inſeuus tereti ſub arundine piſces.
Aut deſolatam exercet vomere terram,
Semper inops, miſera, infelix, rerum omnium egena.

Oppreſt with need, they do their life ſuſtain
By rapine, and annoy the neighbour main
With pillaging. Who are more juſt and good,
With angling do the ſilly fiſh delude,
Or plough the grounds made deſolate before,
Unhappy, wretched, miſerable, ſtill poor.

b Æneid. 1.

c Iſocrat. in Pan. 109.

d Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

C CAP

CAP. IV.

De populi divisione. Εὐπατρίδαι. Γεωμόροι. Δημιοργοί. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. Ἱππῆς. Ζευγῖται. Θῆτες. Quid Atheniensibus cum Ægyptiis commune.

THere were at first two kinds of People in *Athens*, a two orders, *quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæq; aliquid interluçebat*, in which there was difference of dignity and fortune: such as at this day are in *France*, either Peers or Peasants; or as in *Venice*, *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. And although *Pollux* calls them τρία γένη, three sorts, yet I make but two, because the γένεσι were not any way more gentile for blood, surpassing for riches, or happy for life. But because he hath so set them, take them thus, as he speaks, *a* τρία γένη ἔθνη πάλαι, Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιοργοί. Εὐπατρίδαι, *Eupatridæ*, were such as were descended from the loyns of those *Heroes*, famous in *Greek History*, whose families were ever renowned, and posterity propagated to many generations, such as *Praxiergidæ*, *Etcobutadæ*, *Alcmæonidæ*, *Cypsela*, *Caryeæ*, *&c.* whom we may term Nobles, or men of good birth. Γεωμόροι, *Geomori*, may not seem unlike our Yeomen, who had land of their own, and sustained themselves with the fruit and commodity of their possession. Δημιοργοί, *Dimiurgi*, were men of some handy-craft, Trades-men, such as Tent-makers, Shoo-makers, Carpenters, Masons, & the like. But *Solon* made another division. For when the *Diacrii*, which were those that lived in the upper part of the City, οἱ ἐπὶ διακρίᾳ, says *Diogenes Laertius*, and the *Pediai*, which likewise are πεδιεῖς, such as lived in the middle of the City, or the Plain. And the *Paralii* who lived near the Sea, were at contention about Government. The *Diacrii* leaning to a Democratie, as *e Plutarch* writes, the *Pediai* to an Oligarchy, and the *Paralii* between both, and had chosen *Solon* to arbitrate and determine the matter

e So doth Dionysius Hali. carnaſeus, *divide them into* εὐπατρίδας & ἀγροίκους, lib. 2. n. 2.

a Pollux l. 8. c. 9. p. 404.

b In Solone.

e Pag. 61. In Solonem.

matter; he made these four ranks. πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, ἱππεῖς, ζευγῖται, θῆτες, *Pentacosiomedimnoi Equites, Zeugites, Thetes: Pentacosiomedimni* were those who ἐκ ξηρᾶς ἅμα καὶ ὑγρᾶς could make five hundred measures in wet and dry commodities alike. What *Possardus* then brings out of *Xenophon* concerning *modium*, hath no place here; for he supposes that *Pentacosiomedimnus* was he that had as much ground as fifty *Medimni* could suffice to sow; but here I will confute him with a wet finger, ἐν ὑγρῷ: For he seems to sow upon the waters. This is he whom the *Elzivirii* printed at *Leyden*, *An.* 1635. under the name of *Postellus*, who was sometimes a Professor of Tongues in *France*, and Author of the Treatise *de Magistratibus Atheniensium*. *Equites* were such as were of ability to keep a horse, or had the quantity of three hundred measures in dry, and so many in wet: called likewise ἱππάδα καὶ ζευγῖται *Zeugitæ*, were such as could of wet and dry in all make but three hundred. Any of these three could bear office in the Common wealth. A fourth rank which is called θῆτες, *Thetæ*, a name from servility, which had no power in the rule of the Weal publick. But it had not been a miss if I had shewn how the *Egyptians* had divided their people into three Classes as the *Athenians* did, as I have spoken above. For the first degree or *Eupatrida* addicted to learning and study, who were had in greater honor, answer to the *Egyptians* Priests. *f* Nay those great houses in *Athens* had Priesthood by succession, as *Eumolpidæ*, *Ceryces*, *Cynidæ*. For out of the stock were chosen Priests, hence ἐκ τῶν ἐυπατριδῶν in *g Demosthenes*. The *Geomori* who had lands assigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not dislike them in *Egypt* who hold possessions on these tearms, namely, To provide Souldiers when need shall require to fight. The *Demiurgi* resemble those Plebeians, who skilful in some Art, did set out their labor to daily hire, as *Diodorus Siculus* can testifie.

d Plut. p. 65.

e Plutarch. loco prædicto.

f Plut. Thes. p. 8. l. 18.

g Pag. 741. num. 164.

CAP. V.

Tribus quatuor ſub Cecrope; mutata earum nomina. Augentur a Cliſthene. Idem ac ἀπὸ τῶν ἡρώων. Teritoi. Tritoi. Tribulum. Κυρονία. ϛυρτικὰ. Νέμη, γονικὰ.

IN *Athens* there were but four Tribes under the rule of *Cecrops*. *Cecrops*, *Autoëthon*, *Actæa*, *Paralia*; which had other names put to them, *Cranais*, *Atthis*, *Mesogæa*, *Diacris*. I ſuppoſe from the parts of *Attica*, it lying partly neer the Sea, thence *Actæa*, partly hilly, thence *Diacris*, partly Mediterrane, thence *Meſogæa*, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour that Tribe ſo much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I know not. It is probable that it was an honor to their Governor, for as *Cecrops* gave the firſt names, *Cranaus* the ſecond, *each aſſuming a title to himſelf*. *Erictheonius* called them after the name of *Jupiter*, *Pallas*, *Neptune*, *Vulcan*. Διὰς, Ἀθηνᾶς, Ποσειδωνιάδος, Ἡφαιστιάδος. But when *Ion* came to rule, they were named after his four ſons, *Geleontes*, *Ægicoreis*, *Argades*, *Hopletes* as *a Herodotus* and *b Euripides*. Though *Plutarch* ſaies that they were ſo called, *c* ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἑκάστοις ἐπιγενομένων, from the courſes of life which they firſt took. But *Cliſthenes*, a man factious and wealthy, is ſaid by the Councel of *d Apollo*, *Alcmæon* being Archon, to make ten of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from ſome Demigods or *Heroes* born in that land, all except *Ajax* whom though a ſtranger, he put to the reſt as a neighbour & companion, *e Herodotus*. Theſe then were called Ἐπώνυμοι, as you would ſay, giving names, the word ſo ſignifies ſometimes, as *Minerva* is ſaid by *Dion Chryſoſtom*, Ἐπώνυμος Ἀθηνᾶς, who gave the names to *Athens*. To theſe were erected Statues neer the Councel place of the Senate. Their names are theſe, as *f Pauſanias* hath them, *Hippothoon*, *Antiochus*, *Ajax Telamonius*,

a In Terpſich. p. 137.
b In Ione verſus finem.
c In Solon. p. 65.
d Ariſtides T. 1. p. 336. A. T. 3. p. 352
e In Terpſich. p. 137.
f In Att. p. 5.

nius, Leo, Erechtheus that slew *Immaradus* the Son of *Eumolpus* in the *Eleusinian* War, *Ægeus, Oeneus, Acamas, Cecrops, Pandion*. From these Ἰωνὶς, Ἀντιοχὶς, Λεοντὶς, Αἰγεὶς, Οἰνεὶς, Κεκροπὶς, Πανδιονὶς. To which they put two more, one called after *Antigonus*, the other after *Demetrius* his name in gratitude to them for the favours received, which in process of time they changed into *Attalis*, and *Ptolemais*, as *Stephanus* writes, διὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχοῦσαν εὐεργεσίαν τῶν Βασιλέων, having been courteously entreated by the * Kings bearing that name. Which being so, let us take heed that *Livy* deceive us not, who at the time, when *Attalus* did succor the *Athenians* against *Philip*, saies, They first thought of adding that Tribe to the ten, in thanksgiving that the *Rhodii* rescued four fighting Ships of the *Athenians* taken by the *Macedonians*, and sent them home, *a Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda*. Thus have we seen that there were twelve Tribes in all. Let us look back to the first institution. I suppose they were first ordained for the better administration of Civil Government. *b Eustathius* writes that they were divided in imitation of the year the four Tribes according to the four Quarters, each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call φρατρὰς or ἑορτὰς answerable to the twelve Months, each ἑορτὴ or φρατρὰ, into thirty γένη or kinreds, equalizing the daies. For so many only had the year of old. Witness the Riddle of *c Oleobulus* concerning the year.

Εἷς πατὴρ, παῖδες δ' ἑκάτερθεν τριάκοντα
παῖδες τεύχουσι διάφορα εἴδεα ἔχοντες.

One Father had twelve Sons, & each Son thirty Daughters, and every Daughter black and white, meaning days and nights. Over these were Governors, συμβασιλῆς, Kings of the Tribes, who sate upon Controversies between party and party of their own Tribes. Each Tertian also had his overseer called τριττυάρχης the Ruler of the *Trittys* or *Phratria*. The word may seem to signifie a Society, Fellowship, or Com-

* *These are reckoned among the Eponymos in Paus. p. 5. who had statues likewise. a* decad. 4. l. 1. p. 6.

b In Il. C. pag. 181.

c Laertius p. 63. l. 1.

Company: it skils not whether you derive it from φρατὴρ, *Eustath.* or φρεὰτ, as *Suidas*, or φρὴρ, as others which is a Well, because they drew water from the same Well. For the place being scanty of Springs where *Athens* was founded, there being but one well-spring in *Athens*, they were constrained to use φρέατα πατρῶα, digged Wells, as *d Plutarch*. φράτορες are the men of that society, called by *Tully*, *Curiales*, of the same Ward, speaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his servants should afford what they had, if any *Laciades* should come into his Farm. in discription of which thing *Plutarch* uses δημότας, which then we are not to interpret *Curialis* (For this is as much as πολίτας and πολιώτας) but *popularis*: These at Festival days in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as *a Eustathius* observes and *b Pollux* (where they brought their Children to be engrossed in their Books, as shall be hereafter spoken, with the reasons thereof) φρατρίζειν, *Phratrizein*, from hence comes, which is τὸ εἰς φρατρίας συνιέναι, to meet, for so *Eustathius* in another place, εἰς ταυτὸ συνέρχεσθαι. As for the γένη, or kinreds, we must not think that they were of one blood, but of that neer conjunction which they had each with other, being admitted into this Society. Γένη μὲν (every γένος or kinred consisting of thirty, whence they were named τριακάδες) ἃ φρατρίαι τινές, ἐν δὲ ἑκάστῃ ἦσαν τριακάδες ἄνδρων. Not of affinity so called, but for their Synod which the Grammarians call σύνοδον γαμικὴν a Communicative familiarity, κοινωνία, being a participating in one thing, or having an equal share in the same Priviledges. Great was their care of each other, great was their mutual love, which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certain Feasts to be provided, wherein they should kindly entertain each other. Δεῖπνα φρατρικὰ and φρατρία *b Athenæus*. Τῶν δὲ τοῦ δείπνου ἑορτῶν τὰς μὲν φυλετικὰς ἐποιήσαντο οἱ νομοθέται τὰ φυλετικὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν, ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ φράτορσι καὶ γενήταις &c. Of Feasts celebrated at this day the Law-makers have appointed *Phyletica*, for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or popular.

d In Solone p. 65. l. 33.

a Iliad. β. pag. 1181. & ll. ι. p. 629.

b Lib. 3. c. 4.

b Dipnosoph. l. 5 p. 185. d.

Moreover

Moreover *Thiasi* for Colledges (as Philosophers for the death of their Grand Maſters) and *Phratrica* for the ſame Ward. Hence ἑταίζειν τὸν οἶνον, and ἑταιζὸν πολύφιλον. Of which in due time. The reaſon of this the Diſputatiſts gives, ſaying, That Wine hath ἑλκυστικὸν τι περιφιλὲς, an attractive and perſwading force to procure love and friendſhip.

CAP. VI.

Græcia vicatim habitata Δῆμος *quid? Athenienſibus proprium habere* δήμους. *Quot? Templa & ſacra pagatim.*

ALL *Greece* was inhabited κατὰ κώμας, as *Thucydides* ſpeaks, by Villages, before there were any Towns; from whence comes the word Comœdy. *At verò nondum conſtitutis in urbem Athenienſibus, cum Apollini Nomio, in eſt, Paſtorum vicinorumque præſidi Deo, conſtructis aris in honorem divino rei circum Attica vicos, villas, & compita feſtum carmen ſolemniter cantarent: orta eſt Comœdia* καὶ τὸ κωμάζειν κατὰ κώμας; *quod eſt, commeſſatum ire cantantes.* The *Athenians* being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they ſung ſacred hymns to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the Preſident to the *Shepheards* and *Neighbours*, about the Villages, Houſes, and croſs ways of *Attica*, Altars being built in honor of the celebrity, ſprung up a Comœdy, ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν, from revelling and ſinging. Others will have it derived from an ancient cuſtome they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the ſtreet where the offender lived, and in the Night time to cry aloud, ὦ δῆτα ἄνδρες, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπόνθαμεν, ὦ θεοὶ καὶ νόμοι. *Such a one doth wrong, and commits ſuch and ſuch Outrages, although there be Gods and Laws*, by which theſe abuſes were reformed. But the *Anonymus*, in a Preface to *Ariſtophanes*, ſayes, μὴ κώμας καλεῖσθαι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ δήμους, that they were not called κώμαι, or Villages by the *Athenians*, but δήμοι, which they tranſlate

c Lib. 1.

d Donat. in Præf. in Ter.

a Thomas Magiſter.

late *Populus*, better in my mind, *oppida*, or Towns. *Cicero ad Atticum. Venio ad Piræa in quo magnè reprehendendus sum, quod homo Romanus Piræea scripserim non Piræum (sic enim nostri locuti sunt) quàm quod Attica dixerim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præposui, sed ut de loco. & tamen Dionysius noster, qui est nobiscum, & Nicias Cous, non rebantur oppidum esse Piræea, sed de eo videro. Nostrum quidem si est peccatum, in eo est, quod non ut de oppido locutus sum, sed ut de loco: secutusque sum non dico Cæcilium, Manè ut ex portu in Piræum (malus enim auctor Latinitatis est) sed Terentium cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur à Cæio Lælio scribi.* Heri aliquot adolescentuli coimus in Piræum, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat captum de Sunio. *Quod si δήμους oppida volumus esse, tam est oppidum* Sunium *quam* Piræeus. If so be we will have δήμους to be Towns, *Sunium* as well as *Piræeus* is a Town. These were formerly Kingdoms, as *c Pausanias* testifies. τύχαις δὲ δὴ μοι, ἦν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις ἔφαν πολὺ, ὃς ἡ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασιλεύοντο ὑπὸ Κέκροπος. Moreover, I have written, that some of the Towns were governed by a King before the raign of *Cecrops*. And no marvel, for some of them far surpassed other Cities, as *Aristides* affirmeth. These were most peculiar to the *Athenians*, anciently called ναυκραρίαι, as *e Aristoph. Schol.* or Ναυκραρίαι, as *f Pollux*, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But *Clisthenes* changed them into δήμους as out of *Aristotle* the *Schol.* of *Aristoph.* The number of them is, *g Eustathius* out of *Strabo* and *h Casaubon*, an hundred seventy four. Some whereof having the same name are distinguished according to their situations, ὑπερίους and κατωτέρω, as we may say the upper and lower *Wakefield*, &c. All of them are divided into Greater and Lesser. The *i* greater or less are these, *Alimusii, Zoster, Prospaltii, Anagyrasii, Cephali, Prasiæ, Lamprei, Phlyei, Myrrinusii, Athmonenses, Acharna, Marathon, Brauron, Rhamnus.* The rest were greater. Take them promiscuous according to their Tribes.

b Lib. 7. Ep. 3

c Attic. p. 30 l. 42.

d In Panath. T. 1. p. 326.
e Nub. pag. 225. c.
f L. 8. p. 430.
g In 11. b. p. 215.
h In Athenæum l. 6. c. 9.

i Pausan. Att. pag. 30.

KE-

ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΣ.

Αγκύλα ἡ Αγκύλα, Εὐπορία ἡ Εὐπόρια, Θόωκα ἡ Θόωκα, [illegible] *Angyla* or *Angyla*, *Euporia* or *Eporia*, *Thoaca* or *Thoaca*, *Cephisia*, The upper *Lampra*, The lower *Lampra*, in which *Sigeum* arose, calling one the meridionate, the other the inferior, which to be one and the same I have shewed above; *Pamphylia*, *Pergasa*, *Sybrida*, *Phlegyas*, *Magnesia*.

Αἰγαλὴ, [illegible] *Aegale*, *Cydathenaea*, *Otheonae*, *Oeum*, the upper *Paeania*, the under *Paeania*, *Prohalisia*, *Stiria*, *Phlegra*, *Myrrhinus*.

Αἰγαὶς.

Αἰγὶς, [illegible] *Aegis*, *Aegialia*, *Aegialus*, *Aegialea*, *Aegina*, *Aegium*, *Aegosthena*, *Aegyra*, *Aegyrus*, *Aegyssus*, *Aegytis*, *Aegytium*, *Aegytus*, *Aegytus*, *Aegytus

Cecropia, Actæa, Olenia, Elæa, Elæusia, Pandionis, Hippothoontis, Æantis, Ajacis, Æneis, Attalidis, Ptolemaïs, Antigonis, Demetrias, Hecatæis, Cranaï, Cecropidæ, Erechtheidæ, Gargettij, Cropidæ, Lamptrenses, Oeneis, Conopidenses, Paralides, Potamij, Potamus, Scambonidæ, Suniensis, Hybæ, Hybadæ, Rhamnusij, Marathon, Alimus.

Αξιονη, Αμφιτροπη, Ερεχθεις, Αιγεϊδες, Ακαμαντις, Οινεϊς, Οιναιον, Οινεις ἐπι Θαλασσῃ, Πανδιονις, Ιπποθοωντις, Αἰαντις, Αἰακιδες, Ἀττάλις, Πτολεμαϊς, Ἀντιγονις, Δημητριας, Ἑκαταιδες, Κραναϊ, Κεκροπιδαι, Ἐρεχθειδαι, Γαργηττιοι, Κροπιδαι, Λαμπτρεις, Οἰνεις, Κωνωπιδαι, Παραλιοι, Ποταμιοι, Σκαμβωνιδαι, Σουνιεις, Ὑβαι, Ὑβαδαι, Ῥαμνουσιοι, Μαραθων, Ἀλιμους.

Αἰγηϊς ἢ Αἰγηΐδ, Αἰανηϊς, Αἰανηΐδ, Αμφιτρυπη, Ἀνθεμις, Ἀντιοχις, Ἀτταλις, Βιττις, Θεσπις, Κεκροπις, Μιλτιαδης, Μιλτιαδις, Παιανιεις, Πανδιονις, Σοφρονιδαι, Φυλασιδης, Αἰγεϊδες, Αἰγεϊδαι, Αἰγηϊδες, Αἰγηΐδαι, Αἰγηϊδαι, Αἰγηΐδες, Αἰγηϊδαι, Αἰγηΐδες, Αἰγηϊδαι, Αἰγηΐδες

make mention of, according to their Tribes, others there are which I know not how to distribute, none of the ancients either directing or furnishing me. But these are they. *Agra*, *Anchesmus*, *Amphiale*, *Archilas*, *Astypalæa*, *Atalanta*, *Acharnæ*, *Bithnis*, *Brauron*, *Brilessus*, *Elæus*, *Echelidæ*, *Eleusis*, *Trion*, *Cala*, *Cedæ*, *Cothocidæ*, *Coelè*, *Cynosarges*, *Cerameicus* without the City, the same with *Academia*, *Lauriacus*, *Lemnos*, *Limnæ*, *Marathon*, *Palamus*, *Paiania*, *Panactum*, *Piræeus*, *Pithus*, *Prasiæ*, *Probalinthus*, *Potamus*, *Phegæa*, *Phlya*, *Phyle*, *Rhamnus*, *Sphettus*, *Sphendale*, *Steiria*, *Sunium*, *Sypalettus*, *Hyssiæ*, *Phalera*, *Phormisii*, *Phrearii*, *Pharæ*, *Chitrus*, *Oropus*. To which are put the Islands called *Phanæ* & *Æa*, two in number, and *Psyttalia*. The Scholiast of *a* Aristophanes speaks as if *Io* were a *Demus*, but I say not with him. The greatest use we have of these among Authors is in their form of Law, matters of contracts, and the like, that there might be no fraud or deceit, that none either unjustly be sued for any thing, or tax another. Hence read we of such punctual clauses in their Writs N. the son of N. dwelling at *Alopeca*, in *Xilaia*, in *Melite*, in *Cydathenæum*, of *Cala*, of *Melite*, of *Cerameis*. In these villages were Temples of the Gods. *b* Livie. *Templa paganis sacrata*. And again, *Delubra illa fusti, qua pauci pagani subsanti in parvis illis agrestibus vicis consecrata, ne in unam quidem urbem contribuit magnificentiæ vetus*. So much witnesseth *c* Pausanias, who tells us that they worshipped some peculiar Deity, and yet nevertheless did [illegible] honour *Minerva*. Some of them had peculiar Festivals, such as the solemnities of *Bendidea*, to *Diana Dictynna*, to *Jupiter Diomeus*, *Cthonia*, &c.

a In Ranis P. 235.

b Dec. 4. l. 1. P. 12. 18.

c In Atticis 77. l. 40.

Cap. VIII.

d In Ctesiphontem, p. 4.

THe ancients had but three sorts of government, *Tyrannis, Democratia, Oligarchia*, as *d Aristotle* hints, which *Polybius calls Monarchia, Democratia, Ochlocratia*, where although the one names it a *Tyrannus* or Tyranny, the other *Monarchia*, the rule of a King, yet must we understand the same. For in old time all Kings were called Tyrants, as *Servius* on *Virgil* hath observed. A word taken up by the *Grecians* about the time of *Aristobulus*, who (as they say) *Homer* or *Hesiod* knew, & therefore are the Poets termed, as *Isocrates* affirms, for calling the Kings or Lords before the Trojan Wars Tyrants or Tyrannous. Be *Monarchie* or a King dome, is where obeysance is freely yielded rather out of a good advice, than for fear or mighty *Aristocratia* is, when wise and just men are by choice raised to the Helm of the Weal-publick. *Democratie* is, when the Laws and Customes of the Country in matters both belonging to Gods and men are truly observed and then rules the rest, which shall be approved of by the greatest part. *Ochlocratia* is (as *Polybius* saies) as one may say a banquet to please all which doth seldom well with the most. Thus he gives historian hath observed changes in such government, as they use to be inclining to the worst. Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies, as when the people are led away by the persuasions of some pleasing *a* popular man, and are as it were, willingly constrained to take the yoke that his usurping authority shall lay on them; a Tyrant indeed said, *b Vi consecutus*, who gets it by violence, *c Quique autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate*

a Aristot. l. 5. c. 4.
b Probus in Miltiade.
c Probus ib. pag. 17.

hereditary use of. But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who have perpetual authority in the City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivation of which causing murmuring and rebellion, brings forth an *Aristocratie*, or government of the best men, such as are well brought up & exercised in virtue. The end of an *Aristocratie* being, as [d] *Aristotle* hath it, *Virtue*, which is of no long continuance, doth soon degenerate, [e] *into a power of the Rich*, naturally inclining to an *Oligarchie*, or rule of few. These few being chosen according to their riches. And because that many in a State cannot be wealthy, therefore the number of them cannot be great. These are great Lords and little Kings, whose power swaies all, and not the Laws, who unjustly favour those things that are partially theirs, and oppresse them that would defend their liberty against them. All things being administred [f] *according to the will and mind* by their president. Such dominion is taken away by the people set on rage, not bearing [g] *the contumelies* and injuries of their Rulers. Hence comes in a *Democratie*, which *Sophocles* calls [h] *the moderate*, the power of a multitude, whose end is freedome, when all can equally partake of the same priviledges and immunities, who are true Citizens; whence *Tertius* stiles it *æquam libertatem*, for which the *Greek Orators* have properly used the word [i] *ἰσηγορίαν*, as *Ulpian* observeth. But also vulgar, for the most part strangely insolent, prone to wrong and ready to ever-leap against the Laws, bring into a miserable proceeding the worst kind of government an *Ochlocratie*, the Rule of Rascality. All these in their times did *Athens* feel, for they were governed by Kings four hundred eighty seven years; the last of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight between the *Dorians* and *Athenians* offered himself willingly to be slain, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo* that the *Dorians* should be conquerours unlesse the *Athenian* King were killed, he therefore clothing himself *servilem vestem ut posset agnosci*, saith *Cicero*, with a servants habit, lest he should be known

[d] Pol. l. 4. c. 9.

[e] Pol. l. 4. c. 9.

[f] Æschines. in Ctes.

[g] In Demost. pag. 59.

[h] Herodotus. l. 7. c. 161.

[i] Tusc. Q. l. 11.

known, put himself among the enemies, by one of which in a brawl he was murdered. After whom none enjoyed the
b Justin. l. 2. name of King, *Quod maxime cavisse videntur Athenienses*, which was done in memory to his name, for after them *Archontes* or *Judges* ruled, in Title ἄρχοντες, *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whose authority was for terme of life. These continued three hundred and fifteen years. These being ended, it pleased the State to choose a man, whose office should continue but ten years, seaven succeeded each other, and made up the number of seaventy years; who, because
c Justin. l. 2. they abused their power, were made but for one year, called therefore *Annui Magistratus*, yearly Magistrates. These continued until *Pisistratus* for a feigned fear of the seditious, begged a guard of the people for his safety. For when the Faction sprung up, of which I have spoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himself with lashes, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, ἀγορὰν, and beseeching the people to afford him some defiance against their violence, who did (but did not) assault him, procured a company of chosen Citizens, who armed with clubs, not weapons, possessed the Castle, and so Tyranny came in, which *Pisistratus* enjoyed
d Heraclides in Pol. d thirty years, and deceased, leaving behind him two sons, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Thessalus*. *Hipparchus* was slain by *Aristogiton*, after whose death the *Athenians* lived under a tyranny four years, from which they
e Herodotus l. 5. p. 135. were delivered by the help of the *Lacedæmonians*, the offspring of *Alcmæon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whensoever they came for counsel he should wish them to free the *Athenians* of that servitude. The *Democratia* came in eight hundred sixty eight years after *Cecrops*, established by *Solon*, who excluded the fifth rank of plebeity from office or honour by a law, afterwards abrogated by *Aristides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an *Oxlocratia* by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in *Sici-*

ly, the [illegible] of four hundred took upon them state, deceiving the people, as *Aristotle* and *Thucydides* affirm, f Pol. c. 57. g Lib. 8.
[illegible] persuading them that they should reconcile *Tissaphernes* and *Alcibiades* unto themselves by that means, and that the Persian Monarch would afford supply for the War, they most willingly condescended to this motion in the one and twentieth year of the *Peloponnesian* War. These Princes were called g πεντακισχίλιοι, *quinquemilles*, five thousand, though not exceeding four hundred. The reason is, because they boasted that none should be rewarded, but who bare arms; nor any admitted to publick power but five thousand; such as with person and estate could be beneficial to the Republique. Their authority was granted by an f Act of the people, to which *Theramenes* was very forward, but after they were inducted, none more ready to drive out, whereupon they termed him Κόθορνος, *Cothurnus*, from a kind of state up which did fit both feet, [illegible] *doubtless the Proverb arose upon him*. The word may suite with a Jack of both sides. These [illegible] were constrained for fear of g *Alcibiades* to resign the right unto the people, and to go into wilful banishment. But when *Lysander* had overcome *Athens* (the e *Lacedæmonians* yet affecting an *Oligarchie*, as the *Athenians a Democratie*) he ordained these thirty to be cheif, f *Pisistratus, Critias, Adeimantus, Hippolochus, Eudides, Hieronymus, Chærimus, Chremes, Theramenes, Aristarchus, Diocles, Phadrias, Charikles, Anetion, Piso, Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, Onomacles, Theognis, Æschines, Theognes, Cleomedes, Erasistratus, Rhinon, Dracontides, Eugnethes, Aristarchus, Hipponachus, Mnesitheides.* These began at first to put to death the worst and most abhorred, saies g *Salust*, without trial of law, but after wards the good and bad alike, h some for envy, others for riches. These to make their party firm, chose three thousand, to whom alone they permitted to have weapons, disarming all the rest, to the end they might easily command their lives. But by their lawes (for they made

e Plat. in Alcib. p. 148.

b Xen. Ελλ. p. 274. l. 38.

c Xen. p. 275.

d Justin. l. 5.

e Arist. Pol. l. 5. c. 7.

f Xen. Ελλ. p. 290.

g In Catil. Consp.

h Xen. p. 272

some

[Xen. p. 273.] some, [illegible] which were ratified by a decree (as we shall speak hereafter) [illegible] who was Registred in the list of the three thousand so great were they, that the people fled into *Thrace* in a Castle in the *Athenian* borders: and making a stand under the conduct of *Thrasybulus*, at last shook off this yoke, and remained free in. till the death of *Alexander*, even fourscore years; whom *Antipater* succeeded, who in Battle at the City *Lamia* gave the *Athenians* an overthrow; and gave their Province on these terms, that they should submit to a few *Poors*, whose Revenues amounted to two thousand *Drachmes* at least, the chief of whom was *Demetrius Phalareus*; that they should likewise receive a garrison into *Munychia* for the assuaging of riots and uproars. But four years after, *Antipater* dying the City fell into the power of *Cassander*, of whom they often strove to acquit themselves. But in vain. For he brought them to such an exigency, that they were glad to come to composition. And indeed he dealt fairly with them, giving them their City, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, so that they should be contributors to him, that none, whose Revenues come not to ten *mins* or pounds, should undergo any function in the Common-weale; and he should be their Overseer whom he would be pleased to nominate. The man appointed was *Demetrius Phalareus*, [a] who made the City to shine in her full lustre, insomuch that they erected in honour of him three hundred Statues. He wrote a Treatise of the *Athenian Republique*, which had not time devoured, would have given no small light to my poor endeavours. After he in trouble and vexation had spent fourteen years, he was put out by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, surnamed *Poliorcetes*, who restored the antient Customs to them again. To him they ascribed such worship, as also to his father, that they changed the name of their *Tribe* from *Archais* into [b] *Antigonis*, *Demetrias*. The Priest of the Gods that saved them, calling the year after his name, and adding two Tribes to the

[a] Vide Laert. in vita ejus. Strabonem.

[b] Plut. in Demetrio. [c] Pollux. l. 8.

the Tenne, whence the Senate consisted of six hundred, but five before, as *c Stephanus*. But when *Cassander* had overthrown the Sonne and Father, such was the ingratitude and levitie of the *Athenians*, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach near their City. After this *Lachares* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius*; whom they utterly cast off, assuming again the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying, *Antigonus Gonatas* succeeded, who in the nineteenth year of his reign put in presidiary souldiers to the City, which tenne years after hee took out. The *Macedonians* still kept some of the *Athenian* forces in this space. *Demetrius Antigoni Gon. F.* & *Antigonus Doson*, out of whose hands *d Aratus* the *Sicyonian* rescued the City, and made it stand by it self untill *Philip*, the last King of the *Macedonian Monarchy* except one, did somewhat shake it, as you may read in *e Livie*. But he was expelled by the Romans, who took the *Athenians* into league, with a maintaining of their ancient right. So they remained until the Warre between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*. For by fear they were driven to receive *f Archelaus*, *Mithridates* his General, within their walls, against which *Sylla* laid siege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded *direptio Coeyli*, a merciless slaughter, sayes *Appian*, that the *g* streets did run with blood. But the Lawes were not much altered by this Conqueror; and therefore they lived in a neare resemblance of their former state, in favour with the *Roman* Emperour; *Julius Cæsar*, *Adrian*, *Antonius*, *Gallienus*, in whose successors time, *Claudius* the second of that name, the City was ransacked by the *Gothes*, who when they had heaped up innumerable companies of Books to burn, were deborted by this reason, *That the Greekes, Spending their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for War*. *Constantine* the *Great*, likewise had this City in high esteem, taking to himself the Title of *Ἐφεσιος Ἀθηνῶν*, as *h Julian* sayes; which in the words of *i Nicephorus Gregoras* is τὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄρχειν (τοῦτο) the *Grand Duke*, whom simply afterwards

c In Berenice.

d Plut. in vita.

e Decad. 3. l. 8.

f Vide Appianum Alex. in Mithridatico circa p. 122. 133. &c.

g Plut. in vita p. 335.

a Cedrenus Baptist. & Egnatius Ram. prin. l. 1.

b In Oratione ad Constantin.

c Hist. Rom. l. 7. p. 166.

terwards they called the *d Duke of Athens*, in that Historians time. Emperours have taken them wives, Citizens of this place, and the *e* daughters of their *Dukes* have been desired by that eminent rank. And indeed no marvel. For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciajolus*, is said to have taken the City from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, ὄντας δὲ καὶ τούτους οἱ Ἴβηρες, who having no issue male of his wife *Eubœa*, but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by another woman, bequeathed by will *Bœotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the *f Venetians*, from whom his Son recovered it again. *Nerius* succeeded him in the *Dukedome*, who thrust out *Chalcocondylas* his Father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we must know that *Mahomet* the sonne of *Amurat* the second, got *Athens*, *g* whose beauty and building he held in admiration, which when he had made his own, he continued the Title. For another *Nerius*, from those above named dying, leaving one sonne an Infant, his Mother in the childs Title exercised Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* Noble man (sonne to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whose government the City *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by *Chalcocondylas Primus*) who came thither for Merchandize. Him, by discourse and flattery, she entised into her love, promising that she would take him to her husband, and give up the Princedome of *Athens* to him. But upon condition, that he would divorce his own wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* slew his wife, swelling with ambition, and thirsty of honour. Which being done, he returns to *Athens*, Marries this woman, enjoys the government of the City, who being hated of the *Athenians*, and complained of at the Court, to avoid envy termed himself the *Childs* Tutor. And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the Court; where *Franciscus Acciajolus* waited, expecting to be promoted to the Dukedome. When the Emperour therefore understood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being enstalled, imprisoned

d Hist. Rom. l. 7. p. 167.
e Nic. Greg. lib. citat.
f Chalcocon. καλοῦσι τοὺς Ναβάρρας.
* *In the time of* Pietro Zani *come Ambassadors from* Athens *to do homage to the* Venetian Senate. *Mr.* Leuknor *in the history and lives of the* Venetian *Princes.*
g Chalcocon. l. 9. p. 292.

prisoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by means not known to the *a* Author) slew her. This *Francus* in time was taken away from men by *Tyga* governour of *Peloponnesus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the City to the Prince of *Bœotia*. He was the last Duke.

a Chalcocon. pag. 300.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAP. I.

Duodecim Dii Athenienſium, Idolatria ſeptifariam commiſſa, Dii Adſcriptitii. Περὶ ἀγορᾶς.

HErodotus in a *Terpſichore* is of opinion, that the Greeks derived their Religion from the *Ægyptians*. But b *Plutarch* doth ſtoutly deny it. And not without good teſtimony may I affirm that it ſeems to be a falſitie. For *Orpheus* is thought to have brought the Myſteries of Piety into *Greece*, who was himſelf a *Thracian*, from whom the word θρησκεία is ſuppoſed to be drawn, which ſignifies devotion. c Τὸν δὲ τῶν θεῶν ἐπίκλησιν θρησκεύειν, ὁσίως θεραπεύειν ὕστερα δὲ ἐφθάρησαν, ſaies d *Nonnus*. They called θρησκεύειν, to worſhip God, &c. Appoſitely to which e *Ariſtophanes* in Batrachis.

Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς ἡμῖν πρῶτα ἐδίδαξε, φόνου τ' ἀπέχεσθαι,

Orpheus ſhewed us Sacrifices, and to abſtain from ſlaughter.

Neither is f *Euripides* diſagreeing in *Rheſo*.

Μυστηρίων τε θεῶν ἀπορρήτων θαμὰ

Ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς — *Orpheus revealed the hidden myſteries.*

Herodotus names not the Gods, the worſhip of whom the *Greeks* might borrow from the *Ægyptians*; Twelve in number

a Pag. 48.

b In Tractatu περὶ Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας. p. 669.

c Sch. Eurip. in Alceſt. p. 661.

d Dionyſ. Iſag. in Stel. 1.

e Pag. 260.

f Pag. 281.

number they were, quoth he, but these only are reckoned, *Jupiter, Bacchus, Hercules, Apollo, Mars, Pan, Diana, Isis* or *Ceres, Sais* or *Minerva, Latona*, as I have gathered, which all at once have been made known to the *Greeks*, and that by the *Aegyptians* is too hard a task for mee to prove. The *Athenians* I am sure had twelve Gods in especiall honour, whose pictures they had drawn out in a Gallery in *Ceramicus*, and had an Altar erected, called g Βωμὸς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, on which a little before the *Sicilian* War, a man dismembred himself with a stone, which was accounted prodigious. By these twelve would they swear in common discourse. h Μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς. The Heathens thinking that they did honour those Gods by whom they swear, and I have ellwhere spoken. But they were not confined to so small a numbers as twelve. For how could it be when they ran through the seaven sorts of Idolatry? First worshipping the Sun, and punishing with death the neglect thereof, as you may read in i *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*. Secondly, Deifying the effect of God, as bread, &c. k For *Clemens Alexandrinus* interprets *Jus, Ceres*, to be corn or food. Thirdly, the poeticall Gods, *Furies and revengers of wickedness*, as *Alastores, Palamnæi*. Fourthly, the Passions, as *Love, Pitie, Injurie*, likewise and *Impudence*, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at *Athens*. Fifthly, the Accidents of growth and nourishment, hence Αὐξὼ and Θαλλὼ two Goddesses, αὐξάνω, to increase, and θάλλω to flourish; to which may be put *Clotho, Lachesis*, and *Atropos* the three fatall Sisters, and Βία καὶ Ἀνάγκη, *Violence* and *Necessitie*, taken sometimes for death it self. Sixthly, the Theogony or pedegree of their gods, able to make up the sum of which *Homer* speaks, Τρὶς χίλιοι, &c. Three thousand. Seaventhly, an Ignorance of the Providence and bounty of God toward them, fained *Hercules* the repeller of evil, and *Esculapius* the god of Physick. And if this serve not, I can add an eighth way, namely hospitality and good entertainment of strange gods. Αἰσχύνομαι δ' ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενώτατοι ὄντες, ὅτι

g Paus. Attic. p. 3. l. 8.

h Plut. in Nicia. p. 387. l. 26.

i Aristoph. Eq. p. 300 A.

k Vide Bodinum in Demonologia.

a Pag. 471.

b In Panath. T. 1. p. 188.

c Strab. p. 587.

d Act. Apost. c. 17. v. 18.

e In Attic. p. 1. l. 35.

f Vid. Eurip. Sch in Med. p. 482.

g Pag. 137.

ἀγαθοὶ καὶ θεοὶ, saies *Strabo*, as the *Athenians love strangers, so fortune gods*. Ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ καὶ ὁ ξένος ἀγαθὸς θεὸς, &c. *Aristides*. For they serve not only the most ancient Deities, in a peculiar manner above all their followers, but have assumed adventitious ones; such as *Orthanes*, *Cinisfalus*, and *Tychen*. So prone were they to conceive Superstition, that when *Paul* preached *Jesus and the Resurrection of the dead*, they forthwith deemed *Anastasin*, or resurrection, to be a God. And lest they should omit any, they erected Altars to the unknown Gods, of which *Pausanias*. Neither may we doubt of it, the Scriptures bearing witnesse. The cause of this they say to be a fearfull vision appearing to *Philippides*, sent Ambassador to the *Lacedæmonians* concerning aid against the *Persians*, and complaining that he (*f Pan*, from whom πανικὸν (*pabrum*) was neglected, and other Gods worshipped; promising likewise his help, they therefore being victorious, and fearing the like event, built a Temple, and Altar TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Another opinion is, that a Plague being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no help from the Gods they implored, surmising some other power to have sent the Disease, whereupon they set up this Altar, on which was written ΘΕΟΙΣ Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης ἀγνώστου καὶ ξένου θεοῦ. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE AND AFRICA, TO THE UNKNOWN AND STRANGE GOD. As *Justin* g *Martyr* and *Oecumenius*. Much may be said of their Tutelar Gods, both for their Cities and Houses, much of their *Heroes* or Demigods. We will view them in order.

CAP.

CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασιλεύς, Νίκης, διάκτωρ, πατρῷος, ἑταιρεῖος, φίλιος, Ομόγνιος, Ξένιος, Ἀγοραῖος, ξύνιος. *Modii salis edendi, Tessera hospitalis seu Symbolum, Apollo* ἀπόλλων, πατρῷος, ἀλεξίκακος, ἀγυιεύς, *Paan, & ejusdem verbi origo. Mercurius,* πολυγώνιος. Ἐπιτάλιος. Στροφαῖος. τροπαῖος.

ABove other of their Gods *Jupiter* was had in high esteem. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the *Athenians* were bidden to dissolve their Kingdomes, they were charged to make choice of *Jupiter*, a τὸν μὲν οὖν Διὰ βασιλέα. And so by *b Aristophanes* he is called Ζεὺς Βασιλεύς. Him they worshipped as *President of Law and Justice*, under the name of *Jupiter c Nemius* (different from that of *Corinth* named Νέμειος) Him as *God of supplicants*, hence *d* Λιτεῖος, him as *Protecter of Cities*, hence πολιεύς. Him as *Governour and director of their Councels*, hence βουλαῖος. Him as *chief of their Societies*, hence ἑταῖρος, and of their friendship too, hence φίλιος, and of kindred likewise, hence ὁμόγνιος. To him they ascribed *Thunder*, hence *e* Ζεὺς Κατιβάτης, as much as coming down in Thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged their delivery from the *Persians*, wrought by *Themistocles*, hence *f* Ἐπιτάλιος. Him they confessed the *greatest of all*, hence *g* πάνων. Him *the overseer of their buying and selling*, hence *h* Ἀγοραῖος. To him stood an Altar sacred in the *courts of their houses*, hence *Jupiter Herceus*, from ἕρκος a wall, as if he were the watch and defender of the house. *Phaverinus.* Ἑρκεῖος Διὸς ἱερὸν ἵδρυται πρὸ θυρῶν ἐν αὐλῇ, ὡς ἂν φύλακος καὶ ἀμύνοντος τοῦ οἴκου. There was also an Altar to him before the gates, of which *i Ovid*, ante aedes fuerat Jovis Hospitis ara, hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the God of *strangers and hospitality*. So solemn were they in their entertainments, that

a Sch. Aristoph. p. 122.
b In Nubibus.
c Dem. in Med. p. 151.
d Ulpian. in Dem. p. 273. Paus. p. 18.
l. 40. *Who thinks Sylla to be eaten with lice by a judgment, that slew Aristion supplicantly flying to the Temple of Minerva.*
e Aristoph. Avib p. 616. Plut. & Paus.
f Pausan.
g Aristoph. p. 317.
h Metamorph.

that they would not receive a ſtranger without great ceremonies, ſuch as giving of the right hand each to other i πιστὸν δεξιὰν, a moſt certain ſign of fidelity and ſecurity; as Euſtath. ſayes, alſo waſhing and cleanſing with ſalt, or ſalt water, δι' ἁλὸς καὶ ὕδατος on Lycophron; whence it is called ἁγνὸν πάγον. Salt they highly eſteemed of, ever upbraiding violated hoſpitality with ἄνευ ἁλὸς, &c. where is the ſalt? And yet it may be thought to be ſaid of the community of the table ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσθίειν μὲν ἁπλῶς πρὸ ἀλλήλων καὶ συνεσθίειν ἀλλήλοις, cuſtomes ſhewing that fellow commoners, and ſuch as feed on the ſame table, muſt not injure one another; to which the old ſaying may well agree, *multos modios ſalis ſimul edendos eſſe, ut amicitiæ munus expletum ſit*, Men muſt eat many buſhels of ſalt together, before they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendſhip is not to be ſoon eſtabliſhed. But I take ſalt, for the luſtration, to which alſo they added fire, as you may ſee in *Ariſtophanes*. Neither was this all, for they ſacrificed moreover, calling *Jupiter* to witneſs and uſing theſe words in the time of ſacrifice, Εἰ δὲ ξένων ἐσφηλα, ἢ ἀπώσθην ξένους. *Let my treſpaſs be againſt Jupiter Xenius, if I offend, contemn, or neglect ſtrangers.* And for the continuation of this, even to their poſterity they were wont to cut a buckle bone in two, the one party keeping one piece, the other party the other half, that when occaſion or neceſſity ſhould make either of them ſtand in need of other, ἐπιδεικνύοντες τὸ ἥμισυ ἀλλήλοις, ἀναμνήσεως τῆς ξενίας, *bringing with them their half buckle bone they might renew their hoſpitality.* This they call σύμβολον, *Symbolum*, a token, which ſometimes they would ſend to their acquaintance in others behalf, as *Jaſon* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea* to do Πέμψων σ' ξένοις σύμβολ' οἳ σῴσουσί σ' ἀεί. And to ſend a *Symbolum* or token to ſtrangers that ſhall courteouſly entertain you. But of this enough, as alſo of *Jupiter*, whom celebrated in 4 other Epitheta I know by the *Athenians*. *Apollo* was next in requeſt to *Jupiter*, invocated in *dangers* & *ſudden events*, hence ὁ Ἀποτρόπαιος, from ἀποτρέπω, to turn away, as if he

i Euſtath. in Il. δ.

k Pag. 27.

l Demoſth. p. 241.

m Tzetzes in Lycoph. p. 28.

n Cic. de Amicitia. Euſtath. ſayes, that it betokens love permanent. For ſalt preſerves. And as it is made of many lettings in of water, ſo they who came from diverſ places by hoſpitality are made one. In ἁλὶ p. 100.

o In Acharn. pag. 414. vide Sch.

p Euſtath. in Il. λ.

q Eurip. Sch. pag. 446.

4 As πολυδώρος Ariſtophan. ὀμβροκτόνος. Pauſan. &c.

b Ariſtoph. πλ. p. 86.

he ſhould deliver them from eminent evil, for which reaſon he is called *Alexicacus*, c *Apollinem aſpellentem mala intelligas, quem Athenienſes* Ἀλεξίκακον *appellant*. He was one of the firſt Gods they had, hence he is termed d πατρῷος, but e others think becauſe he was the father of *Ion*. f *Macrobius* is of opinion, becauſe the *Sun*, the ſame with *Apollo*, is the Author of progenerating all things, *quòd ſol humoribus exiccatis progenerandis omnibus præbuit cauſam*. To him ſtood Altars in their ſtreets, hence is he ἀγυιεύς, as if he were ſet over their ways. g *Illi enim viæ, quæ intra pomœria ſunt* ἀγυιαὶ. This *Agyeus* was a ſharp pillar. h πίλαι γὰρ αἱ ἐξω λίθοι. Although the *Greeks*, as i *Macrobius* ſayes, did worſhip him as Θυραῖον, *exitus & introitus potentem*, one that kept the doors of their houſes, yet I find no monument of that Title in *Pauſanias*. Famous he was for the name of *Paan*, of which, though I have taken occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere, yet this is a moſt proper place. I will not trouble you with the trivial derivations of the *Greeks*, which you read in k *Athenæus*. When the *Athenians* asked help of the Oracle at *Delphos* againſt the *Amazons*, in the days of *Theſeus*. The God bid them implore his ſuccor in theſe words, lὴ παιὰν lὴ παιὰν. *Hanc vocem, id eſt,* lὴ παιὰν, *confirmaſſe fertur Oraculum Delphicum Athenienſibus, petentibus opem Dei adverſus Amazonas, Theſeo regnante. Namque inituros bellum juſſit hâc ipſis verbis ſemetipſum auxiliatorem invocari, hortatique*. I doubt not but the words are changed ſomewhat, eſpecially if we conſider the ancient *Io Paan*. *Paan*, ſayes the m *Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes*, is a ſong or hymn praying for the ceaſing of a Plague, or war, nay, for the preventing of apparent hurt. The original of *Io* n *Scaliger* hath already found. *Iaô* & *Iô* being contracted by the *Greeks* for *Jehova*; *Paan*, then comes from פעה to look, ſo that *Io Paan* is in force *Jehovah Pehahe* יהוה פעהה יהוה, it being a craft of the Devil to come as near as poſſible he may to God, ſo to bereave him of his dear honour, if he could. The remnants of theſe words the o *Symeans*

c Macrob. Sat. 1. p. 258.
d Ariſtoph. Nub p. 203.
e Ariſt. Sch. p. 611. g.
f Satur. 1. p. 257.
g Macrob. Sat. 1. c. 9.
h Schol. Eurip. Phœ. p. 322.
i Sat. 1. c. 9.
k In fin. lib. 14. Dip.
l Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 17. p. 253.
m In Plut. pag. 68.
n Græc. Trag.
o Vide Sir Fr. Drake.

a people of the West Indies use, who in their fighting dance, and leap, and sing. To Pelor at this day *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of p Ἀγοραῖος or q Ἐμπολαῖος, deemed to be the God, whose favour could enrich Merchants and Tradesmen. He is the God of craft, so by consequence he that is cunning to cheat may soon grow Rich, wherefore this God is termed q Ἑρμῆς, very *profitable*, from ἔρω, an augmenting word, and ἐρῶ to profit. He had a Statue erected to him in the Market place, called a Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος. The entry of their houses was sacred to him, from which he is named b Προπύλαιος, as likewise Ἑρμαῖος from στρέφω, to turn, because he was set up behind the door to keep away theeves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villany. More of his names you may read in c *Aristoph. Schol.*

p Aristoph. πλ. p. 110. Arch. pag. 410.

q Aristoph. βατρ. p. 166.

a Aristoph. p. 304.

b Paus. p. 10. l. 35.

c Pag. 100.

CAP. III.

De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte, Hercule & Bacchi.

Saturn was worshipped by the *Athenians*, witness the Feasts kept in honour to him, called Κρόνια, witness a *Temple* d which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquity I cannot much affirm any thing. He seems to have been of old, as I conjecture out of e Κρόνια γῆρας, *Saturnia senectus*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewise had his honour there, and a Temple, of which f *Demosthenes* where was one of the *Athenian* prisons; some controversies in law in it decided, as I gather out of g *Demosthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient Patron of this City, which he layed even to strife. He was feared for security in Navigation, hence h Ἀσφάλιος. *Mars* also had his Worship, and Temple, and *Hercules* too, who in a Dream appeared to Lysander, revealing unto him the Sacriledge of one who had stolen a golden Cup out of his Temple, called therefore ἀποτρόπαιος or ἄλεξος *Hercules*, as i *Tully*.

d Paus. p. 16. l. 32.

e Aristoph. πλ. pag. 61.

f p. 536. n. 26

g [illegible] Aristr.

h Aristoph. pag. 403.

i Paus. p. 7. l. 17.

k De divinatione, l. 1.

Neither were they contented with such a quantity, but canonizing more daily, as the Sons of *Tyndarus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, naming them ἀνακτι, ἰδρυσάμενοι γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ ἀνάκτορα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἱδρυμένων θεῶν, ἃ καὶ σωτῆρας προσαγορεύουσιν. For they who have a care and watch of any thing do diligently observe it, ἀνακτας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπανέχειν. For which Kings perhaps are called ἄνακτες as keepers of their people. *m* The Scholiast of *Euripides* teaches us that ἄναξ properly signifieth a Saviour. So *Pan* is said to be Ἄναξ Κυλλήνιος, *the Tutelar God of Cyllene*: And *Apollo* in *n Homer* φύσει ἶσι ἀνάκτων. The word is simply put for God in *o Aristophanes*, ἐμὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνακτα καλεῖ. To these may be put *Harmonius* and *Aristogiton*. *Lycus*. *Theseus*. *Alon*. *Hesychius*. *Aristomachus* the Physician. *Celsus* and *Mettanira*. And many more (of whom see *q Meursius*) made of Men, as *Silanion* and *Perrasius* that made the Statue of *r Theseus*.

l Plut. Thes. p. 11. l. 25.

m In Hippol. p. 507.

n Iliad. α.

o In Avib. p. 578.

p Eurip. Sch. p. 537.

q In Athen. Att. l. 3. c. 1. & 7.

r Plut. in Th. p. 2. l. 14.

CAP. IV.

De Minerva, Cerere & Proserpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate, Junone, Prometheo, &c.

Minerva the especial Deity of the *Athenians*, had the Festivals called *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully read in *Meursius*. Next to her *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, whose rites *longè maximis & occultissimis cærimoniis continentur*, *a* saies *Cicero*, were greatest and most hidden: therefore called *mysteria* from *b* μύειν, to hide, *c* death and a curse lying on him who should disclose those abominable secrets. See *Meursius* in his *d Eleusinia*, of the initiation in these shews. They were of two sorts. *e* Greater to *Ceres*, less to *Proserpina*. *Bacchus* also the son of *Ceres* had his Temple assorted and a double tide holy to him: *Dionysia* [f] *parva*, and [g] *magna*. *Venus* had her honour and sacrifice in which they offered to her *h* mony the price of an whore. *i Eumenides* were first adored

f In Panath.

a In Panath.

b Nonnus ad Naz. 581.

c Vid. Plut. in Alcib.

d Cap. 7.

e Aristoph. Sch. p. 85.

f Arist. p. 122.

g Id. p. 123.

h Clem. Alex. p. 19.

i Vide Æsch. in Eumen. & Sch. Soph. Oed. Col.

doted by *Orestes* after he escaped the *Judgment* at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemnestra*. These by k *Hesiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the *Athenians* Σεμναὶ θεαὶ, the venerable Goddesses. To these they offered drink offerings, without wine though at midnight, a custome peculiar to them alone, as m *Æschylus* witnesseth, though I am not ignorant that n *Bacchus* his feasts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nyctelius*. But the Tragœdian,

Ὁ χρυσόρυτα λίβανα τ' ἐχέων πυρὸς
Ἔσωθεν ὥστε λειβὰς κυκλοῦ θεῶν.

Scholiast. ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποτροπαίων μόνων ἔθος ἦν ἀπὸ κρήνης. By p *Sophocles* the manner of oblation is set down. First having clean hands and pure, the worshipper ought to draw out of a running fountain, water, and having filled three cups with water and honey (hence termed q μειλίγματα μειλιγμάτων) the mouthes and ears of which are to be covered with the wool of a young sheep, turning himself towards the East, he powred out some of two of them, but the third wholy; then with both hands setting thrice nine branches of Olive on the place where he casts his χοὰς, he uttered out his conceived supplications. Other sacrifices they had as shall be shortly spoken. r *Hecate* was worshipped by them in *triviis*, where three wayes met, supposed to be the Moon in Heaven, *Diana* on the earth, and *Hecate* below. s To her the richer sort every new Moon made a feast in the croſs wales setting bread and other provision, which the poor greedily fed on, and were so ravenous after, that t *Penia* in *Aristophanes*, complains that they snatcht it before it could be u laid down. Reference to this hath ἐκατοκάμψιος, to eat the cates of *Hecate*, in w *Demosthenes*, which he seems to object as a sordid or wicked thing. Indeed κωμοκόπος, which signifieth one that privily taketh away any of the sacrifices from the Altar imports some times *impios*, βωμοκόπος, *sacrilegos*. *Schol.* x *Aristoph.* And yet the same Scholiast tels us that the needy sustained themselves by the sacrifices. x ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐσθιόντων οἱ πένητες ζῶσι. *Junos* rites were

k In Theogonia.
l Paus. p. 27. lib. 3.
m In Eumen. pag. 275.
n Aristoph. p. 228.
o Loco citato.
p In Oedipo Col. p. 271.
q Æschylus loco præd.
Vide Interp. Hor. in illud. Diva triformis.
s Aristoph. Sch. p. 63.
t Pag. 64.
u In Orat. περὶ ἀδυν. p. 633. n. 59.
w In Nubes. p. 276.
x In Plut. 63.

were performed in great pomp with hair over their shoulders and down the back, in a vesture that swept the ground, their armes bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces so minced, that *a Ἡρῶον βαδίζειν Junonium incedere*, is to go stately. *Prometheus* was worshipped in a kind of Torch dance, or running with links or lamps, it may be in memorial of the fire, which superstitiously they believed him to have stole out of heaven. To say more of their Gods were needless either for you to read, or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of later making, introduced by the *b Philippides*, and * Σπεγγίτιδος Νύμφου. *Spragitidis Nymphæ* after the *Persian* overthrow.

a Vide Schorum in Prov. Isaac. Casaub. in Athen. l. 12. c. 5. p. 388.

b Cl. Alex. pag. 22.

* Plut. Arist. p. 240. l. 30.

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ ἀφέδριοι Ἑρμαὶ. *Phacasiani Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their doors erected statues which they called c θεοὺς ἀφεδρίους, because they were exposed to the Sun. Neither had they these alone, but certain others sacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes*, *Herma Mercuriales*. The fashion of them were divers. For first they were not ἀρτιπρεπεῖς, *perfecta veretro* but made after to that form by the *Athenians*, who received it from the *Pelasgi*, as d *Herodotus*. Neither did they want leggs, till the *Athenians* made them ἀνάλους, according to e *Pausanias*. The manner was this, *A face of Mercury set upon a pillar of four Corners*. The head only and neck were shapen, and therefore it was called *truncus Hermes*, f *Juvenal*,

Nil nisi Cecropides, truncoque simillimus Herma,
Nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine, quam quod
Illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.

For which reason likewise the *Greeks* name them g ἀγάλματα, without limbs. On the lower parts of them were certain verses engraven concerning the praises of some well deserving

c Vide Hesychium, & Dionysium Petavium in Themistium.

d In Euterpe p. 48.

e In Atticis. p. 22. l. 19.

f Sat. v. 852.

g Vide Ulpian. in Dem. p. 332. & G. Langbain in Notis ad Longinum. περὶ ὕψους.

men; but the *Hermæ* on which they wrote the exploits of those that had meritted, seem to mee to have been set up in that Gallery, which from the number of these images was commonly known by Ἑρμῶν στοὰ the Gallery of *Mercuriats*. At the consecration of these they used some ceremonies, and sacrificed a kind of Gruel, which was of no great preparation; because they would not stand long about it. Hence χύτρα ἱδρύσθαι may be said to sacrifice with that which costs but little. h *Aristophanes.* Χύτραισιν, ὥσπερ εἰωθότες Ἑρμαΐοις. *Schol.* Ἑρμαίοις, ἀντὶ τῶν εὐτελῶς. *in Pace.* Now to the erecting of their Images it will not be unseasonable to add something of the form of their Gods; whom they made standing with their hands upward, as if they were more willing to receive than bestow any thing. To which a *Aristophanes* alludes, saying — καὶ θεοὶ γνώσονται δ' ὅτι νῷν χερῶν τε ἀγαθῶν, ὅταν χὠ ἰκρώμεθα δίδοντα τἀγαθά, ἕστηκε κατεστῶτα τἄνω χεῖρ' ἀεί. Οὐχ ὥσ τι δοῦναι δ' ὥσπερ τι λαβεῖν. *Even the Gods shall know by their hands and statues. For when we pray them to give us some good thing, they stand with their hands upward, as if they would not send down something, but rather take oblation.* To tell you likewise, that these Idols were cloathed, is no news doubtless to one meanly versed in the Greek antiquities. To say that they wear Shoes too is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phacasiani*, from φακάζω, a kind of low shoes which the Athenians called φακάσια, from κόνις dust, and ὠτὸς the foot, because they were neer the ground ἀπὸ τοῦ πεδάζειν καὶ ἅπτεσθαι τῇ κόνει τοῦ πέδου, saies b *Clemens Alexandrinus.* But more sure I am that they were pictured with them on their feet. c *Juvenal.*

Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polycleti
Phacasianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.

b Pag. 693.

a Concion. p. 747.

b Prædl. l. 2. c. 11. p. 152.

c Sat. 3. v. 217.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Superstitione Atheniensium, & vaticiniis.

LOng since were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apostle for superstition, which though it properly signifies *a* worshipping of the Gods too much, yet under it these follies are comprehended, Purification after fearful dreams, in *c Aristophanes* ὄνειρον ἀποκαθαίζειν. In which sence some understand *Persius*: *Noctem flumine purgare.* Wearing of Rings against Witchcraft as a Spell, called *f* δακτύλιος φαρμακίτης. *g* Spitting into their bosoms thrice at the sight of a mad man, or one troubled with an *Epilepsie*. Of which also *Theocritus*, τρὶς εἰς ἐμὸν ἄνθρον ἔπτυσον εἶπα τάδε. I know not whether the custome of our silly people have reference to this foppery, who use to spit at the naming of the Devil. Certain it is, that anciently they did spit in defiance, hence πτύειν is put for καταφρονεῖν and εἰς ἀπὸ λογιδίου to continue or set little by, as the *b* Scholiast of *Sophocles* on these words, πτύσαι ἂν δεξιᾷ. Washing with water the head as often as he shall go into the streets χὴ κατὰ λίθους; i *Theophrastus*. Anointing of stones, divers it seems from those heaps sacred to *Mercury*, termed Ἑρμαῖαι. This hath been of old done indeed as a token of thankfulnes by *k Jacob* in *Bethel*, where he took the stone that he put for his pillows, and set it up, and powred oyle on the top of it, in his journy to *Padan Aram*. Hennes crowing, the bold entrance of a black dog into their houses, Serpents seen in κρήνῃσι, sayes *Theophrastus*, of which *a Terence*. *Intrò in ædes ater ne quis canis. Anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit.* Put to these *b* Cat or Weesel (the word signifieth both) crossing his way, the mouse eating his salt bag. Not unlike them now adayes, whose cloaths the Rats or Mice shall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he shall have great ill betide him

d Donat. in Ter. p. 67.
e Ranis pag. 274. vide & Æsch. in Persis.
f Aristoph. Pl. p. 88, f.
g Theoph. Ch. pag. 49.
b Antigonen.
i Charact.
k Gen. 28, 18.
a In Phor. Ac. 4. Sc. 4.
b γαλῆ. Theoph.

UMI

him. Adde the avoiding of obſequies for fear of polluting; Antiquity was of opinion that ſacred perſons were defiled with the ſight of the dead, as *Chemnitius* hath obſerved, and *c Euripides* brings in *Diana* ſpeaking that it is not lawful for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay, the ſtanding upon a grave was great religion; ἐπὶ τύμβῳ μολεῖν. Furthermore obſerving of days good and bad, of which *d Heſiod*, ἄλλη μητρυιὴ, ἄλλη δὲ μήτηρ, that one is a ſtepdame, another a mother. *e* Amazement at the Eclipſe of the Sun, as alſo the *f* Moon; not knowing the reaſon, why ſhe did looſe her light at that time, when ſhe was in her full luſtre. Buying of Medicine or enchanted ſtones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Ariſtophanes*. ἀνατίδων ἀνοιγούσῃ. Of the vertue I ſpeak nought. *g Boemus* relates, that in *Darien* in *America* the women eat an herb when they are great with Child which makes them to bring forth without pain. Joyn to this the ſneezing over the right ſhoulder or the right ſide, *h* πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν. Obſervation of ἀστραπὰς, or ſudden ſtorms, as the *i Schol.* of *Ariſtophanes* interprets it, ſnow, hail, or the like. *k* Cutting off their hair, and ſacrificing it to rivers, as *Cephiſſus*. Marking the flight of the Owle, whence came the Proverb, *l* γλαῦξ ἵπταται, *The Owle hath fled*. And γλαῦξ ἵπτατο for good luck. The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*. *m* ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς γλαυκὸς νίκης σύμβολον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐνομίζετο. They ever accounting it ſo, ſince the War at *Salamis*, where the *Greeks* ſeeing an Owle, took courage and beat the *Barbarians*. *Appendix Vaticana* ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐπὶ ναῦτας βαρβάρους ἐξιόντας Ἕλληνες ἐνίκων. Other madneſs of theirs was ſleeping in the *n* Temple of *Æſculapius*, who were ill at eaſe, ſuppoſing the deity to give, or ſhew them a remedy, *o* for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock; if I miſtake not. What ſhall I ſay of *p* putting him to death who ſhould cut down an Oake or an Holme (ſo *Ilex* which in Greek is πρῖνος may be taken, I think) in the *Heroum*. And puniſhing *Atarbes* capitally who being diſtra-

c In Hip. p. 603. vide etiam Euſtath. in Il. γ. d ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἡμ.
e Plut. Pericle pag 123 l. 35.
f Plin. Nicia. p. 392. l. 21.
g Lib. 4. c. 12.
h Plut. Them. p. 85. l. 23.
i In Ach. p. 379. & p. 424.
k Paus. Att. p. 35. l. 31. vide Euſt. in Il. B.
l Ariſt. Veſpiſ. p. 508.
m Zenobius.
n Ariſtoph. p. 44. 66. T. 2. 38.
o Petronius.
p Ælian. ποικ. λογ. l. 4. c. 17.

cted had ſlain a ſparrow ſacred to *Æſculapius*? Thus farre have we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophecyings. *Æſchylus* brings *Prometheus* on the ſtage, vaunting how firſt he taught men * Οἰωνοσκοπίαν. Ὀνειροκριτικὸν. Ἱερομαντικὸν. Ἐνθουσιαστικὸν. All which were practiſed among the *Athenians*, as you may read in *Xenophon*. Ὀνειροκριτικὸν, *the interpretation of dreams*, is a reſolution of thoſe doubts which we conceive of things offered to our fancy in ſleep, as that of *Hecuba*, dreaming that ſhe ſhould bring forth a firebrand; and that of *Atoſſa* before the fall of her ſonne *Xerxes*, whom ſhe ſaw ſtriving to yoke the *Barbarian* and *Greek* Woman, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients termed ἐνύπνια ἰδεῖν. *Æſchylus*, aſcribing much to the truth of them, ſuppoſing them to be ſent from a Deity — ἢ γάρ τινας θεὸς ἐπέμψε δαίμων. *b Homer*. The skill in them is τὸ ἐνυπνίου ἃ χρὴ παρὰ θεοῦ, κλύειν τε καὶ ξυνεῖναι γνησίως to tell truly the event. Which was no ſmall art: certain Books are written of that Subject. *d* ἢ ἰδὼν ἴγγειαί τινες πτηνῶν ἐνυπνιοκριτικὰ, as *Artemidorus* his *Oniricritica*. Οἰωνισμὸν, *Southſaying by Birds*, when ſuch or ſuch flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand, to ſhew what it doth prognoſticate. *e Æſchylus*. Παρεῖναι πτῆνα τῶν αἰετῶν ταχυπτέρων ὀξυτόκων, ἐκτὸς ἐὰν Ἑλλανικὰ τὰ, ἢ βλάπτειν ἐοικότα ἔχειν ἴσως, ἢ μὴ ἀνάπαλιν τινὰ ἔχειν τὰ ἢ στρογγύλα ἢ ζωηρὰ. It was formerly ſtiled *f* οἰωνιστικὴ, ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας μεζόνως ἀνθρωπίνου οἷον σημείου, which the mind doth ſuggeſt to the opinion. It is put for any divination in Greek Writers, but moſt properly ἱερομαντικὴν, which *g Telegonus* is related to have found according to *Nonnus*; but according to *h Pliny*, *Car*, whence it is called *Caria*. Ἡπατοσκοπία, looking into the liver or entrals, like the Latines *extiſpicium*, obſerving the colour of them, λείου τε καὶ μελάνου ἰωειδοῦς, as likewiſe the ſoundneſs, hence taken as a prodegie λοβὸν ἔχειν κενὸν, in *k Plutarch*, the extremity of the liver (like the outmoſt parts of the Vine leafe, ſaies *Iſidore*) not to be ſeen, or rather that which they call the head,

* Vide Sch. p 32

d Amyot. *a.* initio.

b Iliad. 2.

c Æſchy. Pro. pag. 33.

d Euſt. in Il. *a.* pag. 36.

e Pag. 33.

f Ariſtides T. 3. pag. 25.

g Nonnus Euoay. l. 5. *c.* 6.

h Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

i Æſch. loco citato.

k Pag. 357. l. 31.

Ovid. Cassumque caput reperitur in extis, in making the flame of the Sacrifice burnt, *l* πλοχμοὶ πίμπρανται, the Tragœdian calls them, by which they could foretel events. More doubtless had they waies of Witchcraft, as the other Greeks. Ἐνόδια, as when one shall meet you carrying such or such things, then this shall befall you. *Æschylus* terms them ἐνόδια συμβόλαια, *Scil.* τὰ ἐξ ὑπαντίας. See *Scaliger* in *Tibullum* on these words, *Puer è trivio*. The Scholiast of *a Aristophanes* on ξύμβολον ὄρνις, they made, quoth he, whom they met first, as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the Salutation which *b Sophocles* calls ἐνόδιον σὸν τέρμ' ἵκῃ, wishing luck as χαῖρε among the Greeks, and the Latines, *c Esto bonis avibus visus, &c.* Εὐμενὴς is put likewise for sneezing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans, but sacred to *d Ceres*, as the Greeks, whence proceeded that Ζῆνα, which we intimate in our *God help you*, as often as we see any man purging his head. Which not to have proceeded from any deadly Disease, is sufficiently evinced by *Casaubon* on *Athenæus*. Οἰωνοσκοπικὸν, at the sight of a Mouse, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the House, or when the oyl Cruse is dry, Hony, Wine, Water is spent, to guess at future things. Of this *Xenocrates* wrote. Χειρομαντικὸν, Palmistry, when by the length of the hand, or lines of the Table, they can judge of freeness in house-keeping, of Marriage and Posterity, of which *f Helenus* once left a Monument. Πλατυσκοπικὸν, gathered out of the shaking of the parts of the body, as the shoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kind *Posidonius* was an Author expoled to the world. Ἐγγαστριμυθία as that wherein the Witch of *Endor* was experienced, out of the lowest parts of whose belly the Devil spake. The first that practised this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*, hence they who are possessed with this Spirit of Prophecying, are called Εὐρυκλεῖς, *Eurycleis*, as the *g* Schol. of *Aristoph.* who calls this Art *g* Εὐρυκλοῦς μαντεία, *the Divining of Eurycles*. Νεκυομαντεία, where after solemn Sacrifices they were wont to call up the souls

l Æsch. loco citato.

a In Av p. 574.

b In Oed. Tyr. initio.

c Ovid. Fast.

d Schol. Arist. loco citato.

e Nonnus in Naz.

f Nonnus.

g In Vesp. pag. 503.

h Ib. p. 502.

souls of the deceased, demanding of them what afterward should befall. As *Wierus*, and no wonder, for they held the Spirits of their Parents and Kindred for Gods, *quibus sacrificabant* (saies Bodin) *& ad quorum sepulchra comedebant, in quos Scriptura invehens ac detestans, inquit, & comederunt sacrificia mortuorum*, to which they sacrificed, and at whose sepulchers they fed, against whom the Scripture inveighing & detesting, speaketh, *And they eat the oblations of the dead.* Of this *Aristophanes* makes mention, and *Homer* in his *Odysses.* This is that which most properly is called γοητεία from γόος lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *diræ execrationes*, *a* for with great mourning they invocated κακοῦς δαίμονας, wicked Gods for the accomplishment of their divelish designes. it may most fitly have the name of *Nigra Magia*, *b* for so the Wizards divide them into the black & white Magick Μαγεία, from whence the word Magick is derived, seems to have been found by the *Medes* and *Persians*, whose Priests were called *Magi*, great Philosophers, as *d Laertius* is witness. This is supposed to be the good Magick. *e* Ἐνίυγρις ἐστὶ φάρμακον ἀφροδισιῶν, περὶ ἧς καὶ ὑπὸ ὄνων πεφαύλισται, is a giving of *Philtrums*, a Medicine for the procurement of Love or rather enraging of Lust, by bewitching something and giving it to be eaten, which to have power over Swine is credibly reported. Κοσκινομαντεία, Tricks with a pair of Sheers and Sive, of which *Theocritus*. *f* Ἀξινομαντία, To take counsel of an Hatchet, taking and laying it on a piece of Timber flat-waies, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty use of a key & Bible. Ἀστραγαλομαντία, by casting of the Dice to ask the number of Wives, Children, Farmes &c. which answer to the quantity of the chance. Ἀλευρομαντία & Ἀλφιτομαντία, done by Corn, *h* Ἀεδυομαντία, by taking the Letters of the name, as when two were to fight, & by value of them to judge the conquest, As they said of *Hector* being overcome by *Achilles*. Ὀνειρομαντία making a circle, they divided it into four and twenty parts,

i De Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 11.
k Dæmonomaniæ. l. 2. c. 3.
l In Avib. p. 613. a.
m Lib. λ.
a Nonn. in Naz.
b Vid. Bodin.
c Vide Non.
d In Procem.
e Nonnus.
f Vid. Odyss.
g Vide Theocrit. in Phar.
h Delrio Disqui. Mag. l. 4. c. q. 5. sect. 7.

and on each part made a letter, and putting wheat upon the letters they brought in a Cock, and observing from what letters he took up the grain, they at last joyned them together, and so knew their successors, husbands, &c. Στοιχειομαντεία, opening a book of *Homer* and by the first verse that they lighted upon to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who so foretold it, meeting with that verse of *Homer*, which speaks of the arrival of *Achilles* within three daies at *Thessaly*. *i Et quoniam poemata prophetica, &c.* and because poems were accounted Prophecies, as Poets Prophets, they were most busied in them. Hence in publick causes had the Romans recourse to the *Sibylline Oracles*, & the private Grecians to the verses of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for writing of Oracles, is manifest out of the words *Sortes Delphicæ*, for foretelling or divination. *a* I know the She Priest of *Apollo* being inspired with a kind of holy fury spake to those who asked counsel. Whence the word *b* μαντεῖα at this time read for Southsaying, was anciently called μανίαι madness. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of Lottery, is as cleer as day, the *c Scholiast* of *Euripides* testifying; done it seems in matters of question, so κλῆρον δ' ἐλάσσω may intimate as much as to undergo trial. Prædictions there were, *d* saith *Eustath.* out of signes and wonders, as also of the noise that leaves make when they are burned. To which some adde ἀερομαντεία or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Aristophanes in Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

i Wier. de Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 13.

a Vide Sch. Arist. in Plut.
b Aristid. T. 3 pag. 25.

c In Hippol. pag. 580.
d In Il. a. pag. 36.

CAP. VII.

De Templis Asylis.

THeir Churches were of two sorts, sacred to their Gods in Greek, νηὸς, or ἱερὸν. And sacred to their Demi-gods most properly τέμενος. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragedians. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the first

first Original of their Temples was the erecting of an Edifice to the honour of the deceased. [illegible] Cecrops buried in the *Acropolis*, *Erichthonius* in the Temple of *Minerva*, *Polias*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Eleusis*, &c. They were divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane, this called ἔξω περιῤῥαντήριον, the other ἐν. [illegible] that ἐντὸς ῥάντου was that holy water set at the door of the Temple, with which every one that entered into the Temple besprinkled himself, or was besprinkled by those that sacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others have written that it stood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not lawful for any but the Priests to come. They Sch. of *Sophocles* thus describes the Church. Ναὸς, quoth he, is the place where the Altar stands. Βωμὸς, the Altar, on which they offered their oblations, ἕδος, where they placed the Idol which they worshipped, in ancient times a rude Table or Stock, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls it, as that of *Juno Samia* afterward made in the magistracie of *Procles*, to be a statue. At first named ξόανα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ξέσθαι τὰ ξύλα, from the shaving of it; but when art began to be so expert as to make it resemble a man, they termed it ἀγάλματα, from *Deæ matutæ*, whose shape it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these Ceremonies: That a woman neatly trimmed and dest in purple vesture, should bring on her head a pot of sodden pulse, as beans, pease and the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulness for their first food [illegible] For as much as I conceive out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where this was consecrated, or did divine honours, but in the ἱερὸν or ναὸν, the body of the Church, framing as may be gathered, their gesture towards it. Ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν, &c. Furthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greek ἀρχεῖον by some translated *summum templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This seems to have been Treasurie both for the Church, and any

e Vid. p. 40.

f In Theoph. Charact.

g In Oed. Tyrannum.

a Protrepti-co pag. 23.

b Idem.

c Schol. Arist. p. 115.

d Lib. 1. c. 3. §. 7.

any soever who fearing the security of his wealth, would commit it to the custody of the Priest, as e *Xenophon* is reported to have done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephesus*. *Martial* points at this when he saies,

Templa vel ædes domus ipsa servat auro.

So reverently did they esteem of these houses of their Gods, that to do those offices of Nature, I mean venting of Excrements too shamelesly seen among us, in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination, punished severely by *Pisistratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the Attick Ground had brought forth, they so hated him for that Taxation, as that they made the *Vestibulum* of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes, which although forbidden never was redressed. And yet so secretly was it done, that he could apprehend none, save at last one Stranger, whom he caused to be whipt, with this Proclamation, THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence to a man that soundly smarted for his wickedness, they were wont proverbially to say, *He had better have eased himself in the Pythium*, or if there were more in the plural number, *Κρείττον ἦν αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς Πυθίοις ἀφοδεύειν*. Nay so honourable held they these Churches, that to them they granted privilege of *Sanctuary*, to which who would flie, might not from thence be drawn out under a Treason upon Religion. Of this kind was the Temple of *Minerva* and *Theseus*, the Altars of the *Eumenides* and *Mercy*, a whose Image they would not have erected any where in their City, although in the midst there stood a Grove. b The first *Asylum* among the Heathens is said to have been in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclidæ*.

e Laertius in vita p. 122. vide ad eum locum Cas.

a Vid Rosin. b Polyd. Virg. in Eurip. they are persecuted sitting neer the Altar. T. 2. p. 471.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy Orders among them I conceive to have been divers sorts. *Magistri*, *Parasiti*, a word had in later times in great derision, exagitated almost in every Comœdy, put for a shark or smell-feast, *a Edax Parasitus*. But held once in good esteem. For when they had set apart such a parcel of land as they thought the revenues thereof would suffice for the Sacrifices of such and such Gods, they chose certain men who should receive or gather the Harvest. *Crater*, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν λαμβάνων. With the incomes of this were the charges of those publick Sacrifices defrayed. Hence μεγάλα *introitus magni*, great yearly substance, is used for great Sacrifice in *b Aristophanes* Scholiast. ἐπὶ δὲ ἄλλων τινῶν ἱερωσυνῶν οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα λαμβάνειν. *Ceryx*, the same signifies a Crier, but in sacred Functions a Minister, who slew and offered the *Victim*. *c Athenæus* the Comœdian ascribes much honor to them, as if they had first taught men to seeth victuals, the flesh of sheep & Oxen, while before they devoured each other raw. They take their name from *d Cerya* the son of *Mercury* and *Pandora*. But *e Casaubon*, ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου μέρους τῶν ἱερείων, *à præstantiore parte victimæ quod obibant, sic dicti: Idem nam-que & hostias mactabant, adolebantque, &c.* They in the time of Divine Rites, craved the silence of the people in these words, Εὐφημεῖτε. Εἴπατε ἀγαθά, ἴτε λαοί. Be whist all ye people. good words, for so εὐφημεῖν signifies, as well as to say nought, which *Horace* fitly interpreets, when he sayes, *Male ominatis Parcite verbis.* When sacrifice was ended, they dismissed the Congregation with these words, λαοῖς ἄδειν. To which Custom he unfitly looked who derived the Mass from *Missa est*, better fetcht in my mind by *f Wethelius* from *Masaht* the Hebrew, which avails as much as to praise, מעל, the same

a Terent.

b Secund. Att. Dialect. apud. Athen. p. 235.

c Athen. p. 581.

d Apud Ath. l. 14. p. 661.

e Vide Salm. in Inscript. Pollucem l. 8.

f In Athen. l. 15. c. 23.

g Casaub. in Theophrast. P. 321.

h In lib. quem scripsit de Sacramento.

same with *b* Ἱεροφάντης, who initiated them who desired to be admitted into the society of the superstitiously zealous (who after they were entred, were not under a yeare compleat, permitted to see their Bible.) *c Schol. Naz.* Ἱεροφάντης παρὰ τὸ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκφαίνειν. *Hierophanta* so called from ἐκφαίνω τὰ ἱερά. Opening the holy things. Εἰς τὸ δεῖ ἱεροφαντεῖν. *d* The learned Bishop, upon the place of *Nazianzen*, notes that *Moses* among the *Israelites* was an *Hierophanta*, shewing unto them what they were to do in those sacred businesses. Ἱεροφαντεῖν, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whose office made them safe in war and danger. Hence of bloody fight we say ἐπὶ πυρὶ θεῖν, *Periculum quidem*, there escaped not he that served at the Altar, πυρφόροι. The Priests in the *Great Mysteries*, ten in number. Νεωκόροι whom *e Nicander* calls ζάκορος from *f* τοῦ ζῆν τὰ θεῶν ἔχειν, to be decent, because they keep the Temples clean, and swept them as *Ion* in *g Euripides* speaks. These were the ναοφύλακες, whose charge it was to preserve that which was found in the Church, and to see that repaired which went to ruine, saies *h Aristotle*. And yet we read that the *Parasiti* did sometimes look to the mending of it. There being a law enacted that what they laid out should be restored again. Ἱερῶν in *i Aristophanes* likewise termed σφαγεῖον. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, *k* whose prayers the ancient required at their sacrifices, out of which they had a fee, *l* the trotters and skins, as the *m Cretes* the tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, for there being tables in their Temples, as *Casaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (and perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomack did share. Well known to *n Aristoph.* who relates the like of the Priest of *Æsculapius*. It was requisite to this function that they who undertook it should be found both wind and limb, they being asked εἰ ὑγιαίνει before their creation, whether they were whole in every member: which Ceremony to have been used among holy Orders of later daies is well known, their neighbours

b Meursius Eleucin. c. 13.

c Schol. 1. p. 63.

d L. Mountac. of Chichester.

e In Alexaph. p. 144.

f Aristoph. Sc. p. 285.

g T. 2. p. 621.

h In Politic.

i In Plut. p. 71.

k Casaub. in Theoph.

l Arist. p. 481.

m Arist. p. 101.

n In Plut. p. 71.

neighbours wives bearing record, ſayes [a] *Chriſtianus*, that they have not taken into their ſocieties *quid mutilum*. There were moreover ſhe Prieſts as the Βαλλίωνα, in *Demoſthenes*, and the Καλπίδες whom in all things [b] *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* compared to the veſtal Nunnes.

[a] In Ariſtoph.

[b] Antiq. l. 2. n. 3.

CAP. IX.

De Sacrificiis.

THE Father of Philoſophy is of Opinion, that Sacrifices firſt began after the *Ancient* had ended their *harveſt*. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth & jollity. In which they offered their firſt fruits called ἀπαρχαὶ, from whence ἀπάρχεσθαι is read generally to do any Sacrifice. Neither doth ἀποθήκη import leſs. For [c] θὴκη ſignifies the bend, or great cheſt of the garner, wherein they laid up the harveſt threſht and winnowed, ἄφορον, the firſt or beginning, as if when they began to treaſure up their ſtore, the firſt of all liberally paid ſome devotion to their Gods. The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing elſe but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offerings; who willed in his laws, that they ſhould be ἱερεῖα ἱερεῖα, choſen and ſelected ſacrifices. The rights performed in them were not different from thoſe in the daies of *Homer*, but ſomewhat reformed. It beboved them that would take in hand theſe holy things to purifie themſelves ſome certain dayes before, ἁγνεύσαντας ἡμέρας τινὰς, the number of them is not ſet down. I take ἁγνεύειν here to abſtain from carnal delights (*Tibull Diſcedite ab aris, Quos tulit infeſtus gaudia mollis Venus*) To which purpoſe *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman, from the company of a man to go to ſacrifice, anſwered, from her own at any time, but a ſtranger never. Being thus prepared, they came and ſtood round the Altar, having with them a basket, in which was the knife hid (covered

[c] Vide Schol. Eur. in Phæn. p. 221.

[d] Plut. p. 65. l. 26. they called their lean ſacrifices κάθαρτα ἀγένειον, bones and hair, as if naught elſe, Ariſt. p. 584. [e] Demoſt. pag. 400, 476.

with flower and salt in *f* Aristophanes ἀλφίτοις, in *g* Homer οὐλοχύτας, with which they cut the throat of the victime. Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it: *h* Aristophanes. Περιέρχομαι τὸν βωμὸν τὴν δεξιάν. This lustration was made with meal, and holy water sprinkled thereon. This water is called *i* χέρνιβα, in which they quenched a fire brand taken from the Altar, with which they bedewed the standers by, accounting it a kind of cleansing. (Hence *k* χέρνιβα νίπτειν was forbidden him whom they tooke for a polluted and forlorn rogue) then they cast some of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cryed out *l* Τίς πόθι; *Who is here?* to which they made reply, πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί, Many and good. Then they prayed. *m* Homer, Εὔξαντ' ἰκτῶν ἰὼ Παιὰν, ἐν δ' ἄρα πᾶσι θάρσος ἐνῆκε, Τοῖσι δ' ὑπὲρ μεγάλ' ἔκτα χέων ἀνάγαγεν. Among the later they spake with a lowd voice εὐφημεῖν, before they began; *Let us pray.* Supplications ended, they drew the victime so as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might look upwards, which *d* Homer αὖ ἰρήνη. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἄνω ἔσχεν, ἀναλέξας δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ πεδίλοιο οἷα ἀνάκτων, αἶψα δ' ἔπειτα. If it were to the *Heroes* or Demi-gods, with his throat downwards. Then they slew him and skinned him, and cutting out the * huck shin bones and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called κνίσα (hence the gods of the heathen are deciphred by *e* Nazianzen, κνίσσης χαίροντα, rejoycing in the fat) to the end that they might burn all out in a great flame. *f* Διὰ τοῦτο ὁλοκαυτώσεις τοῦ παρὰ ἕλλησιν νομίζεσθαι πρὸ μικροῦ κερματισθέντος πυρί. For the Grecians counted it unluckie if it did not so consume, and thought that it was not καθαίρεσθαι: upon the κρέα they cast small pieces of flesh cut from every part of the beast, beginning with the shoulder (which is in Greek ὦμος) hence this is called ὠμοθέτησις. The reason *Eustathius* gives *g* ἵνα δοκῶσι πάντα ὁλοκαυτοῦν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ μέρη τῶν ἱερείων παραθῶσι, that they might seem to consume all, which the Athenians did not, being commanded by law to carry some of the sacrifice home. By reason

f In Pace. p. 695.
g Il. a. with these ὀλοχύται the Greeks ever began sacrifice, the Romans, Far, Dionys. Halic. l. 2. n. 4.
b Loco laud.
i Athen. l. 9. p. 409.
k Sophocles Oed. Tyr.
l Aristoph.
m Ilias. a.
d Ilias. a.
* Μέση.
e In Stel.
f Eustath. p. 101. l. 1.
g Loco laud.

reason of wch in junction, they did so strain courtesie of their Gods, that the illiberal & nigardly sort of People would sel that which was left, and so make gain of their devotion. *b* Τῶν μὲν ἱερεῖων σπλάγχνα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχεως sayes *Theophrast.* Where *i Casaubon* notes, *Coxam fere offerebant, aut intestina, aut aliud non magna rei persape.* They offered the hanch bone, or the entrals, or somewhat of no great worth, where by entrals you are to understand the spleen, the liver, & the heart, which *Homer* calls σπλάγχνα, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it signifies the heart too, in which sence we say ἄσπλαγχνος ἀνὴρ, a pusillanimous man; & ἐυσπλάγχνος a couragious as the *a* Schol. of *Sophocles* teaches us, and so σπλάγχνα ἐλέου the bowels of compassion. These the ancients did divide among them at sacrifice to feed on, & afterwards cut out the rest to rost. For when they had finished their devotions, they let the reins loose to all manner of voluptuousnes, gluttony & drunkenes. For oft times they left nothing after their sacrifice, especially when they offered to *Vesta*, whence the proverb Ἕστιαν ἔσθειν, is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari sacrificare*. To say that publickly they began to *Vesta* were more then I could well prove, but that they did so is plain. In their houses they had Altars, and so I supposed once no Ἑστιάσεις to be taken, but this was done in *Libaminibus*, in their drink offerings as he on *b Aristophanes*. As for their meat offerings it was required that they should be c sound and without blemish, whether it were an oxe, sheep, goat, swine, calf: to sacrifice they simply termed ἱερεύειν which our Latines have interpreted fitly, *Facere d* Virgil, *tum facium litare*. Whose poverty was so great that he could not afford a sheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleased in the offered *Mola*, which the Greeks call ὀλόχυτα ἄλφιτα, which by the richer was mingled with oil and wine as the *f* Scholiast of *Aristoph.* The more wealthy instead of this did cast frankincense on the Altars. For the sacrifices of *Pallas* the virgins were in a purple vest *g Demosthenes*. In

b Th. Charac. περὶ ἀγροικ. δειλίας.
i Pag. 336.
a In Ajacem. Lorarium.
b Vid. p. 582.
c vide Pollucem. l. 1.
d In Buccolicis.
e Casaub. in Theop. p. 237.
f Pag. 701.
g Pag. 378.

their oblations the μάγειροι or cooks give the *b* 10 part to the *Prytanes*. So ἀλιτήριος πόλις, put for ἰσία where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Schol. *Aristoph.* on ἀλιτήριον ἦν θεῶν ἱερεῖ ἔχοντα πόλιν. ἐδόκει γὰρ τὰ ἀφαιρούμενα τῶν θυμάτων τῶν, ἵνα τὸν τῶν μαγείρων ἄρχοντα λάβῃ ἴσον τῶν ἱερέων ἀλιτήριος ἔχοντα πόλιν, &c.

b Schol. Arist. p. 304.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

THe ancient Greek year consisted of three hundred and sixtie daies, each month consisting of thirty. Rude Antiquitie ignorant of celestiall contemplations, deeming the Moon to finish her course in that space. Which according to *a Petavius* seems false. *Lunaris enim non fuit, sed ejus menses tricenis diebus constabant singuli.* By which reckoning had they not used intercalations, they had soon found a main difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their festivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*, in which when they found 7 daies deficient, they supplyed them by adding 2 two to every end of the year, called ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι, *b so quod per illud biduum Athenæ Magistratibus carebant*, Because for those two daies *Athens* was without Magistrates. But the last of these four had but 339 daies, besides the two ἐπαγόμεναι, in respect of the Olympick Games, ever kept in the * full Moon, which could not have happenned, had they not begin the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moon. Nevertheless the Sun and Moon appearing 14 dayes odds in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eighth year an interjection of one Month, that this time being ended, the course might still return the same. This all *Greece* observed sayes *Petavius*, by the *Athenians* termed μετὰ ἔτη, by the people of *Elis* an *Olympiad*. What kind of Lunary year was in use among the Grandsires of *Greece*, is

a De Doct. Temp. l. 1. cap. 1.

* Negat Petitus Miscel. l. 8. p. 192. Petav. affirm.

b M. Selder. in Apparat. ad Græco Epoch. Chro.

* id est, The fifteenth day T. 1. p. 4.

c De D. Tem.

not truly known; by *Petitus* delivered to be of D. 347. every Month 29 D. except one, which like our February had but 28 D. Every two years one Month was inserted: one of 29. D. another time of 28 D. But because in two years this * *magnus annus* surpassed the Moon 15 D. *itaque Tetraeterida fecerunt.* This consisted of 1445 D. 723. & 722. make 1445 so many days 354 four times doubled hath, if you please to adjoyn 29. Of this sort of calculation doth he understand f *Geminus* Τὰς μιᾶς τεσσαρακοντημέρους ἄγον, τὸ ἓν ἐμβολιμαῖον μὴ ἀριθμοῦντες. *That must be fitly understood,* quoth he, *for they did number the months as if they were* 30 D. *when notwithstanding they had but* 29. g *Petavius* is otherwise conceited, who takes the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* in that sence, as meaning 29 D. full ones when indeed exactly taken according to h *Geminus* you may account 29 ½ ½₄, and i *Ulpian,* ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. 29 ½. And yet are we not destitute of authority, that a Month was supputed 29. D. k *Theon.* Μῆνα δὲ λέγουσιν, τὸν ἀπὸ νουμηνίας ἕως ἑνδεκάτης καὶ ἡμέραν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὃς ἔστιν ἡμερῶν κθ'. But that the fragments were left out, the words are plain, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πλείστων ἐνιαυτῶν ἀπὸ, ἐπὶ δὲ τινῶν ἡμέρας χείρονι τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐλάττων τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις ἡμερῶν διαγωγὸν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. *He means a day the space of a night and a day, for according to such Months did they administer their civil affairs. And now it is in request among many of the Greeks.* But of this enough. Soon was the *Tetraeteris* found faulty, therefore was made a Kalender of eight years, in which doubling eight times the difference of the Sun, to wit, 11 D. ¼, made up three months, inserted every third, fift, and eighth year. But the scruples comming short in sixteen years 3 D. they intercalated three. And seeing still they could not make it even, *Eudoxus* and *Philippus* made an Almanack of nineteen years, which by *Calippus* was produced to 76. Months 640. of them 28. ἐμβόλιμοι. Τὸ δὲ πέμπτον καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἐμβόλιμον ἐλάττων, saies *Geminus.* This was the progress of their reformation.

d Elog. Chr. p. 225. Petav. *goes not so home.* Lib. de doct. Temp. 1. c. 6.

* *each of these two years severally taken was called* vertens, *joyned* annus magnus.

e Loco laud.

f Elem. Astro. c. 8. p. 36.

g In Auctario.

h Loco citato.

i In Arg. Orat. contra Aud. p. 380.

k In Arati Diosem. p. 74.

a Geminus p. 38. *whom I follow. Not ignorant that* Meton *was the first that made the Cicle of* 19. *years. Hence* Μέτων ὁ ἐνιαυτός. Metons *year is put for a long time proverbially.*

But we must look back again and consider that they counted their year two waies. First of [b] CCCLX, as hath been already spoken, next CCCLIIII, when they made the Months interchangeably πλήρεις & κοίλους, *full and deficient*, that is, one 29, the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their days. The first wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Synalœpha* or contraction of the words νουμηνία. The second δευτέρα. The eigth ἑξκαιδεκάτη, or half full: the full τριακάς. The last νουμηνία, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὸν νουμηνιαῖον, because that in the daies of [d] *Thales Milesius*, who was the Author of that terme, the Month had 30 and no more, but ended, whence I suppose ἐπὶ τὰ ἀπὸ νουμηνίας, signifie the dead, the period of whose life has been come to. Though *Diogenian* gives other reasons. And by the way we must not think, that they had no regard to the course of the Sun; [f] *sed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris &c.* But nevertheless that the year might be correspondent to the Sunne, they put five daies called ἐπαγόμεναι epacted, to the last month *Scirrophorion*, for the supplying of the defect. And so the year had 365. D. which was the true and just measure. But he might have added sometimes 366, by reason of that [g] which *Geminus* acknowledges the *Greeks* to have reckoned, although they accounted their Months but 30. D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which *a Aratus* stiles μέτρον ἐπισφαλὲς. To this point the Greek Authors telling their year by seed time. *b Sophocles* Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ πάντων Ἀριστεὺς ἐτῴου χρόνου. For the ancients saies *c Theon*, took the year three waies, either by the Sun or seasons; as spring, summer, autumn, winter, *d Sophocles* ἐξ ἔτους τε καὶ θέρους ἐμοῦ χρόνου. Χειμῶνος τ' ἄλλα ζ or thirdly by the Moon: whose irregularity *Solon* is reported by *Plutarch* first to have marked. Observing therefore that she on the same day overtook and surpassed the Sun, [e] ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καταλαμβάνειν καὶ παρέρχεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον, he caused that to be called [g] ἔνη καὶ νέα *the old and new*, because that remnant which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the

b Thea were all the months of 30 D. as you may see in Schol. Aristoph. Achar. p. 412. c.

c Gem. p. 32.
d Laertius in vita.
e Pollux. l. 1.

f Petit. Eccl. Chro. p. 215.

a In Διοσημ. p. 78.
b In Antigon p. 213.
c In Aratum p. 78.
d In Oedip. Tyran. p. 183.
e In vita pag. 66. l. 15.
f Plutarch.
g Laert. in vita.

the precedent Month, and that remnant which was after the conjunction appertaining to the subsequent. (These pieces *h* Aratus calls συνάφειαι μήνων) in which matter he is thought to have had *Homer* in sight, who in his *i Odysses* terms the thirteenth day, as *Didymus* expounds it, τῆ μὲν τρισκαιδεκάτῃ μήνης, τῇ δ' ἰσταμένου. Where we may note that then they had no αὔξησις, but counted from one to twelve in the *ordinal numbers*, used by *k Demosthenes* in one Oration, ἑνδεκάτην, & δωδεκάτην ἔναντα βαίνοντες. Then putting the lesser to the greater, they said τρίτη ἐπὶ δέκα, τετάρτη δέκα, *the third above ten, the fourth above ten*, and so to twenty. * But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great, and the light almost lost, they changed the order, and used δεκάτη φθίνοντος, ἐνάτη, &c. *the tenth of the decrease, the ninth of the decrease*, and so to the twenty ninth, δευτέρα φθίνοντος, *the second frō the decrease, or from the end*, going lower in number still, as the splendor of the Moon was diminished, but the 30th they call'd νέα ἢ νέα for the cause above. Here likewise they take the reason why the Moneth ending was φθίνων. *l* Ἐπεὶ τὸ φθίνον ἀπαρᾷ φθείρεται δηλονότι τὸ φῶς, Because the dayes and Moons do as it were die, according to that of *Horace*: *Novaque pergunt interire Luna.* m *Macrobius*, *quid aliud nisi illum φθίνοντα dicit, cujus paulatim deficientis computatio innoman desinit scituri: ἐπιλαμβανόμενον illum, qui præcedit numerum succesſurus priori in defectum meanti.* Ἐπιλαμβάνων standing to supply the place of the departing Moneth; fixed and still waiting till the Moon shall have journeyed to the compleating and ending of the precedent time. Thus the last day of our lives is said to stand. *Virgil*, n *Stat sua cuique dies*, as unto which we must pass through all the rest, and once approach. Thus squared they their times and state matters to the Moon. Hence read we μηνὸς ἀρχὴν πάλιν ἄγων, to count the Month as they do, who manage politick businesses, or belonging to government. In which course they made their year of CCCLIV dayes, which divided into ten parts, make ten times

h In Dioscor. p. 125.

i Odyss. ξ. p. 164.

k Contra Timocratem. p. 446. n. 39.

* Vide Plut. loco nuper laudat.

l Ulpian in Dem. p. 210.

m Macrobius Sat. l. c. 16.

n Æneid. 10. p. 300.

a Argum. Or. Dem. contra. Androt. p. 380.

b Elemen. Astronom. pag. 31.

times 35, which space each a πρυτανεία ruled in its turn, the four that abounded were called ἀφελόμηνα, in which they chose Magistrates, being for that time destitute of them. The year thus disposed, the months must of necessity be πλήρεις ἢ κοῖλοι *cavi & pleni*, as b *Geminus*. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλήρεις μησὶ ἄγουσι τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν νδ'. ὅτι ἡ ἡμίσεια γίνεται ἡμερῶν ιε'. ἴσον δὲ τούτοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ μῆνες ἐναλλὰξ ἄγοντα πλήρεις ἢ κοῖλοι. διὸ καὶ τοῖς ξυλίνοις δικαίως ἡμερῶν ἴσῃ ριδ'. If a Month have 29 D. ½, two have 52. Because therefore the two halfes might be made one whole, they so ordered it, that now it should be 29 D. then 30 D. The *Athenians* counted their day from the setting of the sun on this day until the going down of the next. In respect to which d *Nicander* may be thought to say of noon ἥλιος, -ἀκρόνυκτος δ' ἔδυ. *To take the rest at the beginning of the even.* I know that the Ancients wrought but six hours in the day. e *Martial*, *sexta quies lassis septima finis erit.* Which f *Eustath.* affirmes in his Commentary on *Homer*. And therefore Ζ. Η. Θ. ι. were the notes of the 7,8,9,10, hours, which joyned make Ζῆθι, as if they should have said to the laborers, *Rest*. The beginning of the year was *Hecatombæon*, *July*, the eight, saies h *Petitus*. They ever accounted that to be the first Month. In which order I have found them set down in a i Manuscript in our publique Library, only *Mamacterion* is to be put above *Pyanepsion*.

c Macrob. l. 1. Sat. c. 3. Plin. nat. hist. l. 2. c. 77.

d In Theriac.

e Lib. 4 Ep. 8.

f In Il. ad ἀλλὰ θὲς νυκτὶ παθὶ δεύτερον.

g Casaub. in Athen. p. 931.

h Chronol. Eclog.

i In 40 num. 24. p. 764.

Roman.	*Macedon.*	*Hebrew.*	*Egypt.*	*Hellen.*	*Athenian.*
Ιανυάριος.	Αἰγίκυρος.	Ζαΐαρ.	Τυβὶ.	Αὐτναῖος.	Ἐκατομβαιών.
Φεβρουάριος.	Τάρσιος.	Ἀζαρ.	Μαχαὶρ.	Πανήγυλος.	Μαιμακτηριών.
Μάρτιος.	Ἰχθύης.	Μισάν.	Φαμενὼθ.	Δύστρος.	Βοηδρομιών.
Ἀπρίλλιος.	Κρίος.	Ἰάϊ.	Φαρμοῦθι.	Ξανθικὸς.	Πυανεψιών.
Μάϊος.	Ταῦρος.	Ψιβανὲθ.	Παῦνι.	Ἀρτεμίσιος.	Μαιμακτηριών.
Ἰούνιος.	Δίδυμος.	Θαμμὺζ.	Παῦνι.	Δαΐσιος.	Πυανεψιών.
Ἰούλιος.	Καρκίνος.	Ἀβ.	Ἐπὶφι.	Πάνημος.	Γαμηλιών.
Αὔγουστος.	Λέων.	Βὰλ.	Μεσορὶ.	Λῶος.	Ἀνθεστηριών.

Sep-

Σκιροφοριών.	Πάνδημος.	Θυσία.	Θυσία.	Τοξότης.	Ελαφηβολιών.
Οκτωβρίος.	Ζυγός.	Μυστικός.	Θαυμή.	Τοξοτικός.	Μυνυχιών.
Νοέμβριος.	Σκορπιός.	Χαλεπ.	Εὐσεβ.	Αἴξ.	Θαργηλιών.
Δεκέμβριος.	Τοξότης.	Τιθεῦ.	Χειμών.	Ἀπόλλων.	Σκιροφοριών.

In which Table, although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Moneth *January*, yet it appears not that *Hecatombæon* was ever so removed out of his place, as [a] *Petavius* will have it, *Epiphanius* contradicting, of which by and by. Indeed when the Christians in honour of their *Easter* began the year in *April*, they called *April Hecatombæon*; as he *himself Testifies*. But that *Hecatombæon* was alwayes the first Month is not probable. For when the *Athenians* under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's successors changed the head of the year from *July* to the seventh of *October*, it is like that they began at *Mamacterion* according to this [c] rule.

[a] Petavius Eclog. Chr. p. 41. 14.

[b] Loco Laud.

[c] Ex MS. Bibliotheca Bodleianæ in 8o. n. 3.

Μαιμακτηριών.
Ποσειδεών.
Γαμηλιών.
Ἀνθεστηριών.
Ἐλαφηβολιών.
Μυνυχιών.
Θαργηλιών.
Σκιροφοριών.
Ἑκατομβαιών.
Μεταγειτνιών.
Βοηδρομιών.
Πυανεψιών.

[d] Certain it is that the same *Attick* Moneths are sometimes Lunary, & sometimes not, but of 30. D. or *Julian*, when they are Lunary they have no sure seat, but are now at this time, then at another. And this hath been the reason why the same Moneths have not been suted to the *Julian*, by writers.

[d] Vide Petav. in Epiphan. p. 138.

Vlpian on *Demosthenes* parallels *Hecatombæon* to *e January*, and in the Oration for *Ctesiphon*, to *March*, and again to *f April*, g *March*, he calls *Boedromion*, which also he interprets h *June*. *Elaphebolion*, i *November*, k *September*, (in the Margin *February*) and l *December*. m *Thargelion*. *April*. *Munichion*, *January*. *Scirrophorion*, *March*. Which errors are curiously noted by n *Petit.* in part, to no great satisfaction. But when by the decree of *Augustus Cæsar* they were charged to conform their year to the *Julian*, they o thus numbred.

e Pag. 21.
f Pag. 163.
g In Olymth. 3.
h Pag. 148.
i Pag. 140.
k Pag. 167.
l Pag. 120.
m Pag 167.
n Holeg. Chr. l. 1. c. 6. p. 213.
o Vide Petav. in Epiphan.

Menses Attici.	Menses Juliani.
Ἑκατομβαιών.	*March.*
Μουνιχιών.	*April.*
Θαργηλιών.	*May.*
Σκιροφοριών.	*June.*
Ἑκατομβαιών.	*July.*
Μετ᾽ ἐκατομβαιών.	*August.*
Βοηδρομιών.	*September.*
Μυσαχνιεών.	*October.*
Πυανεψιών.	*November.*
Ποσιδεών.	*December.*
Γαμηλιών.	*January.*
Ἀνθεστηριών.	*February.*

But of this, so much onely. We must handle their Lunarie year, because according to them were their feasts kept. From whence sometimes they would count, as a τὸ ζῆν ἐν Διονυσίοις. So much, and as long since the *Bacchanals*; speaking of the age of a girle. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy dayes, view this Almanack.

a Aristoph. pag. 806. c.

Hecatombæon, July.

1 Πρώτη.
2 Δευτέρα.
3 Τετράδι.
4 Πέμπτη.

5 Ἕκτη.

5 Ἑκτη.
6 Ἑβδόμη * Καθ' ὃν Θησεὺς ἀθῆναι. Kept in memorie of
the return of *Theseus* out of *Creet*, after he had
7 * Ογδόη. slayn the *Minotaure*, b *Plutarch*. The solemni-
tie c *Ovid* seems to describe: *Nullus Erechthidis*
8 Ἐνάτη. *fertur celebration illo, Illuxisse dies, &c.* the eight
9 Δεκάτη day of every Month was sacred to him. He had
also a festival called *Theseia*, in honor of gather-
ing together the dispersed people of *Attica*.
10 Πρώτη μετὰ ἱσταμένου.
11 Δευτέρᾳ. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ'.
12 Τρίτη. Κρόνια. Of these, as also of the day, speaks d *De-*
13 Τετάρτη. *mosthenes*. Then did the masters wait on
14 Πέμπτη. their servants, as in the Roman Saturnals,
15 * Ἕκτη, c *L. Accius. Maxima pars Graium Saturno,*
16 Ἑβδόμη. *& maxime Athenæ Conficiunt sacra, quæ*
17 Ογδόη. *Cronia esse iterantur ab illis, Cumq; diem cele-*
18 Ἐνάτη. *brant, per agros, urbesque fere omnes Exercent*
19 Ἐπὶ δέκα. *epulis lati, famulosq; procurant Quisque suos*
20 Δεκάτη Φθίνοντος. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ι'. Hence was
21 Ἑνδεκάτη, this month called by the ancient *Atheni-*
22 Ογδόη, *ans* Κρόνιος; afterwards *Hecatombæon*, from
23 Ἑβδόμη. ἑκατόμβαια, sacrifices to *Jupiter* or *Apollo*,
24 Ἕκτη. some think with the blood of an hundred
25 Πέμπτη. beasts: For so were they profuse in their
26 Τετάρτη. sacrifices. f *Ovid. Taurorum sanguine centum.*
27 Τρίτη παναθήναια. g The Scholiast of *Homer*
28 Δευτέρᾳ. saies that *Hecatombe* may be used for five
29 Ἑνὶ καὶ νέᾳ. and twenty beasts, whose feet make up the
number of an hundred, ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκατὸν βοῶν, ἃ καὶ ἑξήκοντα πόδας ἔχουσι.

* To *Minerva* the protectress of their citie, as hath been before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as h *Plutarch*, ἡ παναθήναια

b In vit. p. 12. Metamorph. l. 7. Hab. 23. vide illum diligenter: nam erit operæ prætium.
d Pag 446. contra Timocratem. e in Annalib. vide Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 7 versus finem.
* Then were kept the Μετοίκια in memorial of their transmigration. Plut. p. 8. l. 9. By some it is termed Ξυνοίκια. Aristoph. p. 700. Plut. initio Them. l. 12.
f Metamorp. l. 12.
g In Il. α. pag. 6.
h In vita p. 8. lib. 8.

δυσὶν ἱππίοις κυκλικοῖς. At first they had the name Ἀθλίων, by *Ericthonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of solemnization there were rare shews exhibited to the people, such as horse races, wrestling, dancing in armour, called πυῤῥιχὴ, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in procession the *Peplus*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Gyants. All which you may read in i *Meursius* at large, and k *Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

i In Panathenæis.

k Pag. 140 197 180. 281. 467. 580. 650. 746.

The second of this month is called τρίτη, because it hath but 29 daies, and so alwaies in *cavis*.

Metagitnion August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo* called Μετραγύρτια.

1 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.
2
3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ'.
5
6
7 στρατηγοῖς δοτέος.
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17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
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Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ'.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία ε'.

* *Boedromion.* September.

* *From this Month came the Feasts* Boedromia *from Theseus overthrowing the* Amazons. Plut. p. 9. *or* Ion *helping the Athenians against* Eumolpus Βοηδρομῶν *to aid because in necessity they made a cry.* Aristophon: Βοᾶν ἴσασιν Lucian. ὁπλιτικῶν, Latini *Quiritari* hence *help came in.*

Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Μιλτιάδης Κυρία ἐκκλησία γ'.

Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When *Pausanias* and *Aristides* overthrew *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his General near *Platea*, a citie of *Bœotia*, *a Herodotus*, *b Justin.*

Miltiades leader of the *Attick* forces got the upper hand of the *Persians*. In which battle when *Cynægyrus* pursued the flying enemies to their ships, he caught hold of one with his right hand, which lost, he made use of his left; that cut off, he in token of his prowess spared not his teeth, to the eternizing of his name for valour against his enemies.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ'.

Χαριστήρια Ἐλευθερίων.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία ε'.

* Ἀγυρμὸς Mercatus.

In thankfulness for the delivery of *Greece*, at what time *Darius* and his fleet went homeward. *b Aristides* describes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Altar to *Jupiter* that freed them.

*The greater in which they were made *c* ἰσοβάται, or admitted to the sight of that they worshipped. The first day was called ἀγυρμὸς, perhaps from the conflux of the people

a Calliop. p. 234 b. lib. 3.
b Tom. 1. p. 157. see Plut. in Arist. p. 241.
c Sch. Arist. p. 247.

Here I look on Meursius for brevities sake; but if you please to read severally, see Aristoph. Sch. p. 85. 98. 131. 138. 455. 529. 647. 141. 218. 227. 228. 231. 232. 217. 262. 264. 516. Aristid. T. 1. p. 323. Clem. Alex. in Protrep. p. 10.

22 * Κυρία ἰκλησία. α'. people. The second ἁλαδε μύσται, because the Crier then warned
23 them to goe to the sea. the third day they sacrificed
24 a Barble, because it devours the sea hare, an enemie
25 to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket re-
26 presenting *Proserpine* gathering flowers, which wo-
27 men following cried χαῖρε Δήμητερ, Hail *Ceres*. The
28 fifth, they rann with torches Hence λαμπαδηδρομία, and
29 λαμπάδων ἀμίλλη. The sixt, *Bacchus* was carried in pomp, hence it is termed Ἴακχος. The seaventh day they exercised in seats of activity, and he that overcame had wheat given him. The 8th was *Epidauria* from *Æsculapius* his comming from *Epidaurus* to *Athens* to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two measures of corn, and setting one at East and the other at the West, they powred them out, one looking to heaven and crying ὗε the other to the ground, saying, τέκνυε. Thus *Meursius*. That day was πλημοχόη.

a Sympos. Q. l. 9. q. 6. & in l. περὶ φιλαδελφίας. p. 331.

b Lib. de duct. Temp. 1. c. 5. p. 11. D.

The second of this Month was left out ever, saies *a Plutarch*, instead of which some are perswaded, the name onely was omitted, as πεμπτὴ for Τετὰρτη, which was recompenced by ἐνδεκάτη φθίνοντος, or ἑνικὰς. As in a defective Month δεκάτη φθίνοντος, for the twentie. Of this judgment is the b *worthy Petavius*.

* *Pyanepsion.* October.

*Mæmacterion is to be inserted here.

This Month took denomination from the Feasts *Pyanepsia*. For mingling the remainder of their food after their ariving they put it into one pot, and seething it, were Jovial altogether at the same.

1
2 Κυρία ἰκλησία. β'.
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Πυανέψια. After that *Theseus* had buried his Father, he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if he returned safe from the death of the *Minotaure*, he would sacrifice unto him a pot of sodden beans. Hence πυανέψια, as it were, κυαμέψια. For the antiquities called Ἀρχαῖα τὰ περὶ Θεσμοφόρια. [beanes πύαμοι.

Κυρία ἑκκαιδεκάτη γ'.

Θεσμοφόρια, *c Plautus* calls this Festival *Vigilias Cereris*, which the *Attick* Dames kept most sober and chast, strowing their beds with ἄγνα for that purpose, it being an enemy to lust. They prepared themselves with fasting, but after that, took their liquor freely. The number of dayes were three allotted, as some, or four, as others, When *Castellanus* saies that *Ovid* makes them nine, its false, for that was the *Mysteria*, as we above have shewn. They were done in honour to *Ceres*, that gave laws first, as she is termed Δημήτηρ θεσμοφόρος: Of these you may read *d Aristophanes* and his Scholiast.

c In Aul.

d Pag. 611. 770. 782. 783. 819. 820. 829.

Ἀνθεστήριον. Kept this Month. When the Parents brought their children to their Tribes, to be inroled, I suppose for fear of deceit in patrimonies. Then they made merry for four dayes. The first was Κυρία ἑκκαιδεκάτη α'. Ἀνθεστήρια. The second Ἀνθεστήρια. The third Χύτροι. The fourth Ἐπιῤῥύσια.

Καλλύντηρια in honour of *Minerva*. If *Meursius* teaches us that they were celebrated the 17. of this Month, but *Petitus* hath thus placed them,

f Græcia Feria. l. 1.

Manaster-

Mamacterion November.

This Month is to be placed before *Pyanepsion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who so hath set it, though much against the opinion of other learned: as Mr *Selden*, *Petavius*, and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept as for most approved.

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7 Κυελα ἐκκλησία. β.
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16
17 Κυελα ἐκκλησία. γ'. *Plutarch* in the life of *Aristides*, sayes that the *Bœotians*, nay and *Greeks* send yearly
18 some to sacrifice to the memory of those that died at
19 *Platæa*, and every fifth year they have great pastimes,
20 which c he sets down the manner of.
c p. 241. 21
22
23 μουνιχιὼν δ'. This Moneth is derived from *Jupiter*
24 *Mamacterx*: for I suppose they first found Gods, afterwards Festivals to them. Not the Moneths first, and
25 then named the Gods from them.
26

27

Posideon December.

From *Neptune*, who is *Posidon*. For the first day of this Month was sacred to him, as *b Casaubon*. Hence he thinks it to be called Ποσιδεὼν ἀπὸ ἱερείας. b In Theoph. Char. ult. p. 336.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία α'.

Διονύσια τὰ ἐπ' ἀγρῷ, Without the City. It seems when they had gathered in vintage, and presſed their grapes. Λήνη *Torcular*. Then were they moſt jocund, as may appear out of that, *Like the voyce of them that tread the Wine preſs*, and in *c Oppian*. ἐπλήτο χαλκὸν. On which words *d Conradus Rittershusius* takes Λιωναῖον to be *January*. c Kυνηγ. a. ver. 127. d Pagina. 18.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία β'.

Ἀλῶα. A Feaſt to *Ceres*. The day doubtful. *e Demoſth.* e Pag. 743.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία. γ'.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία. δ'.

Πρυτανεία. ε'.

Gamelion January.

From the Marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom before we have spoken, and more you may read in *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*. That Month wherein this people coupled, hence is called *Gamelion*, from γάμος, *nuptiæ*. It is sacred to *Juno*, who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and *conjugalis*, President of Weddings and the Marriage bed.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία. ς'.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία. ζ'.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία γ'.

Anthesterion. February.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ'.

πρυτανεία ζ'.

Ἀνθεστήρια Kept in great mirth for three daies in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first πιθοίγια from πίθος the tubs, and ἴγειν to open, for at the broaching of their vessels they drunk stiffely. The second χοῦς from *Chous*, a good capacious vessel. In this he that could drink down the rest of his companions had a golden crown. The third χύτροι, I suppose different from χύτροι. From this festival the month is named. The twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Lymnis* were kept, called ληναία & ἀγχαύτης. The 13th were acted Comœdies, begun the 3d year of the 93 Olympiad, when *Callias* was *Archon*. But after they were taught as *a* Donat and *b* *Ulpian* witness, and *c* *Aristophanes*, ὅτι πλείους συνηρχον ἐπιθυμοῦν τὸ καινὰ δράματα βλέπειν, saies one

Of this you may see Aristoph. p. 293. 417. 419. 422, 222.

The day was called χύτροι likewise, but not in the sence spoken.

a In Terent. pag. 289.
b In Demost. pag. 184.
c Pag. 143.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία β'.

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30

Elaphebolion March.

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4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.
5
6
7 Θυσία Ἀσκληπίου. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ'.
8
9
10 πρυτανεία ά.
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14
15
16 Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ.

Of these c Æschines makes mention, & you shall have them obvious every where in Greek Authors.

c Contra Ctesiphon.

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19
20 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α'.
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28
29 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β'.

Munychion April

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10 Κυσὶ ἐκλήσια. ά.
11
12
13 Κυσὶ ἐκλήσια. ά.
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16 Μυνύχια τριτανεία ἐόδτη. *Munychia* were observed to Di-
17 *ana*, who was so called and had a temple in *Munychia*,
18 by *Athens*. The month bears the name. In this month were the causes of strangers adjudged. *a Arist. Sc.* To *Jupiter Meilichius* The greatest day that
19 Διάσια. the *Attick* rout was kept in. See this *b Aristophanes* and *c Eustathius*.

a Avib. p. 60.
b Pag. 150. 174.
c Ilme. & Ilm. l. 1.

20
21
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26 Κυσὶ ἐκλήσια. ά.
27
28
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Targelion May.

Κυσὶν ἐκλησία, β'.
Συμβόλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*; holding it to be their nativitie. On this day did they expiate for the sins of the people. For they were wont to nourish some base men, and of no account, at the publick charge when in time of pestilence, or the like they sacrificed for the sins of the Citie, two in number, saies the *a* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, whence they were called ἀμβλεῖς: but more properly καθάρματα & φαρμακοὶ *b Aristophanes*.

a In Equites pag. 353.
b In Ranis.

Κυσὶν ἐκλησία γ'.

Κυσὶν ἐκλησία. δ'.

Βενδίδεια. To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is named *Bendis*.

Παναθήναια μικρά. Not much different from the greater. See *Meursius*.

Καλλυντήρια. Πρυτανεία. ι'.

Πλυντήρια *Petitus* places it on the 24 day, others will have the 25. To *Minerva*, on which they take off the ornaments of her statue, and wash it I suppose, *c Plutarch*, *d Xenophon*.

c Pag. 152.
d Ελλην. δ. p. 257.

Scirrophorion.

Scirrophorion June.

Σκίρα To *Minerva* from σκίρον, a Canopie, under which her Priests did walk in pomp at that time: or from the statue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus*. c *Schol. Aristoph.* c Pag. 497. 725.

Βοηδρομια. It was not lawfull anciently to kill an Oxe: wherefore when one had slain that beast eating the meal provided for the Sacrifice, he slew him and fled, in memory of which this day was kept. Afterwards they did mitigate the Law, and gave licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the plough. To which d *Juvenal* may allude. *Ut vetulus bos* *Qui domini cultris tenue & miserabile collum Prabet, ab invito jam fastiditus aratro.* d Satyr. 10. ver. 268.

Κυρία ἡμέρα. γ'.

Κυρία ἡμέρα. δ'.

Πρυτανεία ἡ φυλὴ φέρει, &c.

Where *Petitus* makes the four first Tribes to govern each his day, on those four that abounded above the year, * *Sigonius* seems to agree, and * *Mansacus* approves * Athen. Rep. l. 2. c. 3. * In notis ad Harpocra.

proves it. Neither is it miſliked by * *Petavius*. * *Scaliger* hath falſely taught us otherwiſe, who maketh each *Prytanie* to rule 36 daies, which none are ever to have done, except the firſt four.

* De Doct. Temp. l. 2. c. 1.
* De emend. Temp. l. 1.

CAP. XI.

De Tragœdia, Satyra, & Comœdia.

IT is taken for granted among the Ancients, that *Homer*, who lived [a] 907 years before Chriſt, was the firſt that taught [b] τραγικῶς λέγειν, to ſpeak in Tragœdy; comprehending great and many matters in few words and very conciſely, being more large and uſing circumlocutions in matters of leſs conſequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the property of a Tragœdian. This foundation being laid, following ages ſtill built (though rudely) a ſtructure to ſmall perfection. *Nam poſt illius tale tantumq; documentum, &c.* ſays [c] *Donat.* For after that *Homer* by the Iliads had repreſented a Tragœdie, by the *Odyſſes* a Gomœdy, moſt ingenious imitators took thoſe Poems and ſet them in order, and divided them, which at that time were inconſiderately, & without judgment written, impoliſht, and in the firſt rudiments not ſo neat and trim, as in proceſs of time they were made. For Poeſie was a great while in her minority, and very rude, after the firſt publiſhing of Plays. For we ſee little or nothing of [d] *Suſarion*, the firſt Comœdian, worth our time: ſome few verſes onely, and ſo few as may but witneſs ſuch an Author. The original of the word Comœdy is ſuppoſed to be taken from divers reaſons: Firſt, becauſe in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*, they ſung them, and ſo it may be derived from κῶμος *commeſſatio*, ἐκ τοῦ κωμάζειν, ſignifying ὡς μὲν τινες αἰσχρῶς ἄδειν, to ſing baſely at the cup. Secondly, from κῶμα, ſleep; becauſe when any of the *Attick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the cuſtome (as before hath been ſpoken) for the party abuſed, to come in the

a Vid. Can. Chro. ad Gr. Epoch. Mar. Arund. p. 97.
b Hermog. de Eloq. Meth. p. 361. c. 33. Euſtath. in Præf. ad Iliad.
c Tract. de Trag. & Comœd. Præfat. Terentio.
d Marmo. Arund & ad ea Seld. CL. Præfixa etiam Ariſtoph. περὶ κώμῳ. δ.
e Sch. in Naz. utel. C. d. 106.

the night ſeaſon into the ſtreets, and with a loud voice cry, ſuch and ſuch rejoyce in wrong, commit ſome outrages, though there be Gods and Laws. And after that, proclaimed the parties name, who on the morrow was ſought out by the husbandmen and much ſhamed, by which theſe wrongs were redreſſed. Thirdly from κώμη, a ſtreet, becauſe when the old *Athenians* would note a wicked mans life out to the world, meeting merily in the ſtreets and high ways, they layd open, every mans life, and concealed not his name, f *In vicos & compita ex omnibus locis lati, alacreſque venibant: ubique eum nominibus ſingulorum vitam publicabant.* Theſe verſes were g in the green Meddows, h about the beginning of the ſpring; When the husbandmen kept the Feſtivals of *Bacchus* the God of Wine, to whom they ſacrificed a Goat, becauſe his biting is an enemy to the Vine, the skin of which they took and ſowed up cloſe, filled with wine, and anointed it with oyle to make it ſlippery, and ſo hopped with one leg upon it, making themſelves laughter at the falls they often took. This ſport they ἀσκωλιάζειν from ἀσκὸς a skin and ἅλλεσθαι, to leap, i *Ariſtophanes*. Ἀσκωλιάζ' ἐστὶν ἅδην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγροίκων. k *Virgil* hath fitly ſet it out.

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Caditur, & veteres ineunt proſcennia ludi:
Præmiaque, l ingentes Pagos, & compita circum
Theſeida poſuere: atque inter pocula lati.
Mollibus in pratis, unctos ſaltare per utres.

After *Suſarion*, ſprang up *Theſpis*, the firſt that made Tragœdies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lacrymoſa Poemata*, ſad Poems, becauſe they repreſent humane miſeries, the misfortunes of Kings and great men eſpecially, there being no place for a poor man, but only to dance, as m *Arrian* hath obſerved. Which thing gave an occaſion to n *Socrates*, when he ſaw the moſt worthy & rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants, to ſay to *Antiſthenes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did ſome famous exploit? So in Tragœdies we mark

f Donatus Tra. & Com
g Idem ibid.
h In Synopſi. vitæ Ariſtop. Th Magiſter.
i Plut. p. 108
k Geor. 2.
l Iſa. Tzetzes in Proleg. ad Poetas. interpretes κώμας, μάγους χωρεία.
m In Epictet. pag. 95.
n Ælian. Var. l. 2. c. 11.

that

that ſuch as *Atreus*, *Thyeſtes*, and *Agamemnon* are ſlain; but what Poet was yet ſo impudent as to bring a baſe fellow on the ſtage ſacrificed? Nor ſupernumerary is that of *Euripides* for *K. Archelaus*, deſiring that he would write a Tragœdy of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragœdy might happen to him, meaning ſorrow and lamentation. For ſo is Τραγῳδία uſed, as ο Κωμῳδία for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The firſt Tragœdy that *Theſpis* taught, was that of *Alceſtis* reprieving her husband from death by her own, as *p* Mr *Selden* hath conjectured. This *Theſpis* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragœdies, as *q* ἀνωφελῆ ἁδολεσχίαν, a fruitleſs lying *Horace* of him thus ſpeaks.

Ignotum tragica genus inveniſſe camœna
Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe poëmata Theſpis;
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fœcibus ora.

Upon which words ſome have written, that his Poems were ſo voluminous, that he was conſtrained to bring them upon waines. But alas, a poor conceit! *r Franciſcus Luſinus Vticenſis* is of opinion, That *Theſpis* carried his ſcene upon carres, and *Acron*, That the *Chorus* carried about in Waines acted Tragœdies. *Chori plauſtris circumducti Tragœdias, agebant.* *ſ* I avouch that at the firſt the Poets acted alone their own Fables. And to me it ſeems a ground ſer to ſtand on, the Greek Authors by the word ὑποκριτὴς, intimating a Poet. Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὑποκριτὰς, &c. The ancients, ſaies *t Ulpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas*, *actors*, which we now term *Tragœdy*, ſuch as *Euripides*, *Ariſtophanes*, *&c.* The place in which they ſung their Poems, was a ſcene upon a Wain drawn in Proceſſion to the honour of their God *Bacchus*, as among the *Greeks* the enſtome was ſaya the Scholiaſt of *Nazianzen*. Of the manner in thoſe ancient times, *u Plutarch* ſhall thus inform you Ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου ἡ χλωρὸς, &c. A pot of wine and a vine twig, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a baſket of figs, and laſt of all the *Phallus*, In which Solemnity the Poets in Wains following the pomp, might without controul laugh, ſcorn, and deride any they met, ſaies *x Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*,

o Athen. l. 3. p. 90.
p Ad Marm. Arund.
q Laert. in Solone p. 40.
r In Horatii poetic.
ſ Schol. Ariſt. p. 142.
t In Demoſth. p. 40.
u Stel. β. p. 107.
x περὶ φιλόπλ. p. 348.
x Antiq. Rom. l. 7.

Iam or were wont, as the *y* Schol. of *Nazian.* to rayl upon each other. Whence κωμῳδία, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in good ſence ſometimes *z* to celebrate the pomp, or go in proceſſion in honour to the feſtival) and *a* κωμῳδία, a ſcandal or reproach, ὕβρις, λοιδορία. Whence likewiſe came the Greek proverb, *b* ἐκ τραχήλου λαλεῖν, *tanquam ex plauſtro loqui*, and ἐκ τραχήλου ἐλέγχειν *tanquam ex plauſtro convitiari*, to give reins to the tongue, to be free in abuſe Which that they might do the better without ſhame, or bluſhing, ſometimes would they anoint their faces *amurca*, *olei fæce*, with the dregs of oyl, ſaies *Donat.* or of wine (for ſo I interpret τρύγα) from which Poets by *d Ariſtophanes* are called τρυγῳδοὶ ποιηταί. *Horace. Perunctis fæcibus ora.* Sometimes would they put on vizards, *e* which leaſt they ſhould hurt the head were defended from the skin with a wollen cap named πιλίδιον. A word elegantly uſed by *Demoſthenes*, in a Metaphor drawn from the liberty and impunitie of the perſons that wore it, Οἶμαι δέειν ἅπαντα πλεῖστον ἄξιον τοῦτον ἀδικήματος καὶ πιλίδιον λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ. Think not to eſcape ſcot-free for ſuch villanie, though you get a *Pileum* on your head. We may apply it in threatning to any ſlanderer, of whom we ſurely intend to be revenged. But I ſeem to forget the Poet, while I ſpeak of the Stage; I will therefore return to him. *Theſpis*, as I ſaid, was the firſt that invented Tragœdies, ſo called, as *Donat* tels, becauſe (leſt there ſhould be rewards wanting by which good wits might be ſtirred up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Caper namque pro dono his dabatur.* τράγος is a Goat, and ᾠδὴ a ſong. *Horace, Carmine qui Tragico vilem certavit ob hircum.* Before that time ſome ſay that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made Tragœdies but the moſt received opinion is this which *Horace* hath ſet down of *Theſpis*. Before him there was no art of poeſie Tragical, but at their feſtivals, when they aſcribed all their mirth and delight to their Gods. they did eſpecial-

y Loco laud.
z Hermog. Meth. de Eloquentia, c. 2. p. 519.
a Dem. pro Coron. p. 134.
b Schol. Ariſt. p. 142.
c Ulpian in loc. cit. Dem.
d Nubibus p. 141.
e Vlpian in Dem. p. 254
f De falſa Legatione.

ly to *Bacchus* (and ſo afterward, when the Actors are called διονύσου τεχνῖται, and τεχνῖται, ſimply by *Demoſthenes*, by *Donat. Artifices*. The word is uſed for Juglers, and ſuch as *Hokus Pokus* in *Theophraſtus*) they would feaſt & afterward ſcoff and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their ſolemnitie. They would moreover dance at rude Muſick, and from thence ſuppoſe they the *Chorus* to have ſprung up. They would likewiſe caſt forth ἀπροσδιαιρέτως as they term them, in *i Virgils* language, *verſus incomptos*, *k Numeros innumeros eo tempore fundi ſolitos & ſine arte*. For they had of old but two ſorts of verſes, *Heroicks*, in which they ſung the praiſe of Gods and Noble men, and from this in a ſhort time with ſmall care grew a Tragœdie, the other ſort was *Iambicks*, as toying and laſcivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, & from hence came a Comœdie. At firſt ſmall was the difference between a Tragœdie and Comœdie *l conſtat ſanè primis temporibus ignoratum fuiſſe diſcrimen inter Tragœdiam & Comœdiam*, and the reaſon is becauſe even Tragœdies had their wantonneſs and petulancie. At firſt they ſung in honour to *Bacchus Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they prailed their Demi-gods, which when the people ſaw they cryed down, with οἶδ' ὅτι πρὸς διόνυσον, whence our proverbial adverb is fitly uſed ἀπροσδιονύσως, for nothing to the purpoſe. But to give content to the people, the ſatyrs did *preludere*. But after that, when a Tragœdie took ſtate they excluded the Satyrs, and were only for ſad and ſerious perſons; by which mournful poems the people were wont to be caſt down, ſympathizing with the perſon repreſented, therefore to cheer them up a *Chorus* of wanton Satyrs were brought in by *Theſpis* as *m Horace*.

g Orat. παραπρ. p. 242.
b Charact. vi. Caſaub.
i Georg. 2.
k Caſaub. de Sat. Poeſi. l. 1.
l Caſaub. ib.
m De arte poet.

Mox etiam agreſtes Satyros nudavit. & aſper
Incolumi gravitati, jocum tentavit, eò quod
Illecebris erat & grata novitate morandus
Spectator, functuſque ſacris, & potus, & exlex.

In a Satyrick play, Satyrs have a *Chorus* place, or elſe the perſons

persons are Satyrick and ridiculous, and for the easing of the mindes of the spectators, they would bring in Satyrs for sports sake, and many of their Tragœdies had some mixture of Satyrick sport, saies n *Casaubon. Fuisse aliquando pluribus Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas.* Of this I say *Thespis* was the first inventer, who likewise to ease the *Chorus* (o for that acted only) brought one actor upon the stage, to whom *Æschylus* added one and *Sophocles* another, so the number was three, *Æschylus* is δευτεραγωνιστὴς, *Sophocles* is τριταγωνιστὴς, a word put for an obscure & base fellow in p *Demosthenes*, *Vlpian*, ἀεὶ ὑποκρινόμενος ἢ τὸν δεύτερον, speaking of *Æschines*, if I remember, *Tully* cals them Actors *secundarum & tertiarum partium.* b *Vt in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus, sæpe illum qui secundarum & tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquanto clarius dicere quàm ipse primarum, multum summittere, ut ille princeps quàm maximè excellat.* But let me speak what I have to say of a Tragœdie. a None was permitted once to act *Æschylus*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragœdies but they were to be recited to the Scribe, that the actors might (as I conceive) repeat them. Τὸν τραγικῶν γεγραμμένα παραγινώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς, ἵν' ἐξείη τὰ αὐτὰ ὑποκρίνεσθαι. And to this purpose by a law of *Lycurgus* the Orator, were they commanded to be transcribed, & kept under custodie ἐν κιστῇ. Yet the b Author of the life of *Æschylus* writes that the people made a decree, that he should receive such a summe of gold, that would διδάσκειν the plaies of *Æschylus after* his death. I put the word διδάσκειν, *docere.* Because Tragœdians as well as the Comœdians were said εἰς διδασκαλὶαν τραγῳδῶν ἰέναι, to labour in teaching the people. And for this end did the ancients lay out so much mony upon their Theaters. c *Sed immane quos quantosque sumptus, in Theatra, in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum repræsentationem fecerit antiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab utrisque emendari, & prudentiam conferri, sed & scripta antiquissima & formas Reipublicæ, ac vitam magistratuum, cum summo spectatorum fructu,*

n p. 126. de Sat. Poesi.

o Laert. p. 220.

p 184.

q In divinat.

a Plutarch. in vita X. Rhet. p. 452. B.

b Juxta finem

c Heinsius Proleg. ad Aristarchum Sacrum.

in Comœdia examinari, factiones compoſui, ac graviſſima ſubinde de publico ſuppeditari crederent conſilia Not unfitly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theatre, *I came hither to teach you, and not to be taught by you.* Hence of a Tragœdie or Comœdie the Greek writers ſay, *d* διδάσκεσθαι *docetur fabula*, and διδάσκειν, *docere*, as ſometime *docere*, as you may ſee in *e* Athenæus The following Poets did not alwaies repreſent their own Fables, but oft-times their predeceſſors, ſo ſaies *f* Quintilian, the people permitted the works of Æſchylus to be dealt with, becauſe in many places his verſes were not ſet in order. He brought great grace to the ſtage, & firſt taught σκηνογραφίαν, the painting of the Scenes, which ſome think *Horace* to aim at, when he ſaies, *Modicis inſtravit pulpita ſignis.* Which becauſe it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay ſpoken affirmatively by ſome) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did πολλὰ καινοτομῆσαι, bring in many new things: ſuch as leaving out the action of the Poet (for before the Poet himſelf acted) by reaſon of the badneſs of his own voice; he found out white ſhooes which the Actors and Dauncers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteen, before but twelve; he fitted likewiſe his Tragœdies to the natures of the Actors, &c. But that he invented σκηνογραφίαν I cannot find. *Somewhat* likewiſe was added by *Euripides*: *g* as to ſet out the Argument of the Fable in the beginning of the Tragœdie, as you may obſerve; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the laſt & principle point of that one action which he would repreſent, which by the glory of our nation *h* Sr *Phil. Sidney* is not paſt by as frivolous, without noting. Theſe three were the Princes of the Tragick ſtile, who exhibited to the People every year at ſome certain ſolemnities their Poems, ſtriving who ſhould get the victory by the approbation of Judges, choſen for that purpoſe, called *i* Διονυσιακοὶ κριταὶ, and *k* Κριταὶ ἐπὶ Διονυσίοις; Ten in number, think ſome at firſt, gathering out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Becauſe

d Athenæus Dip. lib. 6. pag. 268. vid. Caſaub.

e pag. 270.

f Lib. 10.

g T. Magiſter.

h *In the defence of Poeſie.*

i Heinſius in Proleg. ad Ariſtarchum ſacrum.

k Æſchines cont. Cteſiph.

cauſe when he had brought the Reliques of *Theſeus* out of *Syrus*, *Aphepſion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, choſe not the Judges as ſoon as the Theatre was filled, and ſpectators placed: but preſently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captains, of each Tribe one, after accuſtomed ſacrifice he ſwore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young; for which *Æſchylus* grieving went into *Sicilie*, where he died, and was buried near *l Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of theſe Critick Judges was alwayes ten. This we acknowledge done in teſtimony of high acceptation of *Cimons* ſervice. And yet in judgment upon Tragœdians, the number might be ſo great. For there ſeems to be a difference between the Judges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. The number of Tragick Judges, grant we haply to be ſuch as we ſpeak; the power incontrolable, as from whom there was no appeal to other. *m Cum neque provocatio ab iis eſſet, neque de quibus illi judicarent, magiſtratus cæteri ſententiam pronunciarent.* The Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb, *n πέντε κριτῶν ἐς γόνατα κεῖται. ſub quinque Judicibus lis eſt.* The *o* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* ſpeaks ſomewhat uncertain. Judges, quoth he, paſs cenſures upon the Comœdians, and they who had five voices were happy. Thoſe were all. For if there had been ten of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets felicity to have had equal voices. For the odd gave a great ſtroak. Hence wiſhes the *Chorus* in the behalf of the Poet — *Εἰ κατὰ πᾶσαν μίαν*, to be Victor by one voice onely. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick Judges had freeliberty of ſuffrages beyond the power of the people, the *Comick* had not: For when *Ariſtophanes* taught his *Νεφέλας*, they ſo much took the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conquerour, *ὡς νικήσαντα τῶν κριτῶν ἅπαντας Ἀισχύλου, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γε οὐδένα*, ſaies *p Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Ariſtophanes* uppermoſt, (as the faſhion was, which *q Ariſtophanes*

l Plut. Cimone p. 352. l. 39.

m Heinſius loco laudato.

n Zenobius.

o Ad Aves. p. 562.

p Var. H. l. 2.

q Avib. p. 562.

nes

ner calls πρωτεῖον καὶ πρωτεῖον, the most excellent first, the next to him second, and the next to him third (which was no small praise, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honestum est in secundis tertiisve consistere*) and no other. For which cause I suppose the Poets before reciting, were wont to sacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and spectators, r *Aristophan.*

r Loco laud.

Ὅμνυμ' ἐπὶ τέτταις σοὶ νικᾶν τῆς χειτοῦς
Καὶ τῆς διατοῖς σοῖς — Where the Scholiast interprets ὄμνυμι truly as it is to be understood, ἱκετεύω, to supplicate. And good reason, For if they pleased not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with stones. To which use ſ *Aristophanes* points, saying, — ἐβάλλετο; nay, sometime would they hiss them, which they term κωκύειν and σείειν, sometime stamp them out of the Theatre, which they call πίτρουπᾶν by t *Pollux* interpreted ἰδίωμα τῶν πίτραις κατακόπτειν. Another difference is that u the *Comick* Judges were punished if they judged not right, the *Tragick* not so. And for these reasons have some conjectured, nay positively written, that their Judges were of two sorts, old and new, in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they confounded both, making no oddes between the Critick Judges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. But of this, Reader, you may determine as your authors shall afford authority before Judges, as I said, the Poets in emulation presented their labours, & they who in their opinion lost the day, were said * ἡττᾶσθαι, by x *Casaubon* interpreted *non stare*. The time of exhibiting their Tragœdies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus*, called *Dionysius in Agris*, or *Lenæa*, in the moneth *Posideon*, on the *Anthesteria*, or *Dionysia in Lymnis*, in the month *Anthesterion*, or *Dionysia in urbe* in the month *Elaphebolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thrasylus* in y *Laertius*, which some deny, yet the same write, that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this festival. I say but one, because it was a custome among the Poets of ancient dayes to entertain their people with

ſ Ranis pag. 418.

t Lib. 6. c. 19.

u Æschines contra Ctesiph. pag. 98.

* Heinsius Prolegom.

x Sat. Possi.

y Platone pag. 220.

with more playes then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modò singulas committerent fabulas, modò plures*, ſayes *Caſaubon*: ſometime in the ſame year three, and then was it called τριλογία; ſometimes four, and then they ſtiled it τετραλογία, + Τὸ γὰρ τέταρτον δρᾶμα ἐπιτεθὲν ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ. Whereof ſayes mine Author, the fourth was a Satyrical play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one & the ſame man, as thoſe of *Æſchylus*, named therefore *Oreſtia*; to wit, Ἀγαμέμνων. Χοηφόροι. Εὐμενίδες. Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the ſame ſubject, as that of *Euripides*. *Medea. Philoctetes. Dictys.* The fourth was Θερισταί, ſayes the Author of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter ſeems to me not to reach to the expreſſion of the Greek word Θερισταί, Σάτυροι; *Meſſores, Satyros*; he ought to have rendred it thus, *Meſſores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word bears this ſenſe is ſufficiently dilucidated by *b Caſaubon*. That the greateſt task of action lay on the *Chorus* is as apparent as the Sun at noon. The number of them in Comœdies were twenty four, and ſix *juga* (each *jugum* conſiſting of four; but τάξεις four, each στοῖχος ſix men) in Tragœdies fifty, until the time of *Æſchylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which ſo terrified the people, *c* that the children and younger ſort fainted, and the women ſuffered abortion; for which reaſon, ſaies *Pollux*, the number was leſſened (which ſome deny) by law. They were by that Act brought to fifteen, five *juga*: I ſay *juga*, becauſe they were divided into στοῖχοι, and ζυγά. Ζυγὸν was when the *Chorus* entred by three, & then it was called κατὰ ζυγὰ παράδος, by file. Σταῖχος, when they came on the ſtage in ranck five at a time; and this they term κατὰ στοῖχον. Sometimes one of them entred alone, which they ſay μόνος. Of interlocutors the ancients for the moſt part never had above three, but if a fourth ſpake, that they named παραγωνιστής; and if the *Chorus* ſupplyed the part of a fourth Actor, it was ſtiled παρεπιδιώτης. To ſpeak of the ſeveral verſes of Tragœdies, is *actum agere*:

+ De Satyrica Poeſi p. 131.

a Laertius loco citato.

b Lib. laudat.

c Author vitæ Æſchyl.

and I had rather ſpeak of the action, then the art in compoſing and yet not much, only this of their motions, termed στροφὴ and ἀντιστροφὴ. Στροφὴ, ſays the Scholiaſt of *Pindar*, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in Analogie to the motion of the univerſe ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν, from the *Eaſt* to the *Weſt*; becauſe *Homer* calls the *Eaſt* the right hand, the *Weſt* the left: Contrary to the *Hebrews*, who term the *South* Iamin, which ſignifies the right hand, and the *North* they counted the left. Ἀντιστροφὴ was a turning from the *Weſt* to the *Eaſt*, that is, from the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another poſture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be ſo in Tragœdies, as in Lyrick Muſick, which I believe) to expreſs the immobility of the earth they ſtood ſtill. They uſed *Epodes* for the moſt part at the end of the Acts, when the players avoided the ſtage. Thus much of Tragœdies, the authors of which were highly of old eſteemed; inſomuch as after the diſmal diſcomfeit of the *d Athenians* in *Sicilie*, they were relieved, who could repeat ſomewhat of *Euripides*. Nay, by a law made by *e Lycurgus*, & eſtabliſhed in *Athens*, *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* had Statues erected in braſs for the continuation of their memory. After Tragedies had proceeded to perfection, Comœdies were with great applauſe taught, as *f Horace*,

Succeſſit vetus his Comœdia, non ſine multa
Laude.

He ſays, *vetus Comœdia*, becauſe a Comœdy was divided into three, or if you pleaſe ſo to ſpeak, two ſorts, the Old and New. I ſaid three ſorts, becauſe * the old was different from it ſelf. The meaning is, that the old Comœdy, of which *Suſarion* (by ſome named *Sannyrion*,) was Author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decency. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the ſmoaking Altars, ſung *ſimplex carmen*, ſome naked verſes, ſayes *Donat.* Which by *Cratinus* was redreſſed, for he ordained three Actors, and mingled with his ſport profit, I mean for inſtruction. For under the *Democracy* it was lawfull to exagitate and propoſe for

d Plut. in fine vitæ Niciæ.
e Plut in vit. x. Reſp. Pauſ. Atticis. p. 18.
f De arte Poetica.
* Grammat. ἡ παλαιὰ ἑαυτῆς διαφέρει.

for a laughing ſtock Captains and corrupt Judges, Citizens given to bribery, and ſuch as lead a diſſolute life, naming the men upon the ſtage and fitting the Actors with vizards bearing the ſhape of thoſe whom they intend to deride. But as the ſtate grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away. *Eupolis* being caſt into the ſea by thoſe againſt whom he wrote his Comœdie *Bapta*, and ſo drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not [a] εἰσφέρειν Κωμῳδίαν, to name any whom they wrote the Comœdie of. Of which *Horace*,

[a] Hermog. Partiti. p. 76

Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi. Lex eſt accepta, Chorusque
Turpiter obticuit ſublato jure nocendi.

But when *Alexander* of *Macedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing leaſt any of their abuſive wit might diſpleaſe the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, and inſteed of abuſing ſtates & people, they fell upon ancient Poems, or ſõe part of Hiſtorie not truly written, perſonating the Actors ſo as to be moſt ridiculous, [b] ſometimes Scoffing on the ſtage at mean men, and this they termed Νέα Κωμῳδία. the new Comœdie. But afterward it was a piece of their *Athenian* policie to forbid that the people ſhould be toſſed on the ſtage, unleſs they would themſelves, ſaies [c] *Xenophon* knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier ſort, πλουσίους, ἀρχαίους, δικαίους. Some are of opinion that no player came on the ſtage until thirtie or fortie; I diſpute not the matter, ſure I am that *Sophocles* taught his firſt Tragœdie at twenty eight, in which doubtleſs himſelf came on the Stage. It being among the *Athenians* no diſgrace as the *Romans* accounted it, to appear there. [d] *Æmilius Probus*. *In ſcenam vero prodire, & populo eſſe ſpectaculo nemini in eiſdem gentibus (Græcis) fuiſſe turpitudini: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamiæ, partim humilia, atque ab honeſtate remota, putantur.* The place where the people beheld theſe plaies and paſtimes was in the market place, where they nayled ſcaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in

[b] Donat. Generaliter ad omnes homines qui mediocribus fortunis agunt, &c.

[c] Athen. Rep.

[d] Præfatione ad vitas p. 2.

Meurſ. Att. Lect. l. 4. c. ult.

ancient time they had no Theatre of ſtone, only of wood, which they call ἰκρία. f *Ariſtophanes.*

——Ἀπὸ τῶν ἰκρίων
Τοὺς ἄνω᾽ ἡμᾶς——

f Theſmoph. pag. 787.

These were built by ſome, who upon ſome conſideration of mony admitted any to a ſeat, named thereſore g θεωρικὰ. Once it ſeems places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuſes. For ſtriving to get places, there roſe wrangling and brawles, and fights, wherefore the *Attick* Senate ordained that each place ſhould be hired for two *oboli* (in the Conſulſhip of *Diaphantus*, a *Drachme*, ſay ſome, whence roſe the Proverb, Δραχμὴ χαλάζης; becauſe at the eſtabliſhing of it, there fell hail) This mony they called θεωρικὸν, from θεωρῶν: becauſe with it they did θέαν ἀγοράζειν, buy a ſeat to behold the ſhew exhibited. Now becauſe the poor people had not to give, & ſo were deprived of the ſpectacle, *Pericles* deſiring to be popular, made a law that they ſhould receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man, i For the right of enacting which mony they were to produce the authority of the *Lexiarchical Rolles*, as appears out of *Demoſthenes*. For the diſtribution of this were certain officers appointed, named οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν. But afterwards *Apollodorus* ſtrove that in warr and publick neceſſity, theſe ſummes might be imployed in military affairs, but he endeavoured in vain; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting in capital for any that ſhould attempt that which *Apollodorus* did, Which makes k *Demoſthenes* deſiſt, willing, yet not daring to perſwade to convert the mony to the uſe of the Armie. But ſee the folly of them, l For they ſpent as much on theſe ſports as in obtaining the maſterie and libertie of *Greece*. And the end was miſerable: for they became effœminate, and ſo put their necks under the *Macedonian* yoak. m *Juſtin* of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amiſſo, quem æmulari conſueverant, in ſegnitiem torporemque reſoluti, non ut olim in aciem exercituſque: ſed in dies feſtos, apparatuſque ludorum, raditum*

g Caſaub. in Theoph. p. 245.

h Zenobius.

i Cont. Leocha. p. 617. n. 50. 51.

k Olynth. 1. pag. 7.

l Lacon apud Plut. Mor. p. 421.

m Lib. 6. fine.

publicos

publicos effundunt: & cum actoribus nobilissimis, poetisque theatra celebrant, frequentius scenam, quàm castra visentes. Versificatores Oratoresque meliores, quàm doctos laudantes. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo antea milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum est. Quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter otia Græcorum, sordidum & obscurum antea, Macedonum nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theatre I will say little, as also of the stage: Only that the places in the Theatre were not promiscuous. For there was a distinction between the Senators and younger sort. The Senators were named [a] βελευται, among which it is probable the Judges had the first place, as [o] *Pollux*. The seats for the youth were called Εφηβικὰ. One part of the stage was *Orchestra*, in which was θυμέλη, either a Tribunal or an Altar, That upon all their stages there was an Altar sacred to *Bacchus*, is apparent out of *Donat*. he saies it stood on one side of the stage, before the doors, *Pollux*: who names it λάϊνος. There was moreover a Table called πίναξ, on which before the time of *Thespis* some body ascending in the Poets place, did answer the *Chorus*. [p] *Plutarch* thinks θέατρον to be derived from θεὰ, because that before the building of Theaters the ancients embracing *Musick* only for institution of youth and praise of their Gods, sung the commendation of good men, and honour of their Deities in Temples.

[a] Aristoph: Pag. 578.
[o] Lib. 4. c. 19. p. 202.
[p] De Musica. p 442.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAP. I.

De Legum latoribus Atticis, Νόμοι, ἄγραφοι & ἔγγραφοι; Ψήφισμα. Πρόβλημα. De sanciendis Legibus.

[a] Lib. 2. p. 27.

AS *a Pausin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation and the *Athenian* government passing by the perpetual and decennial Consuls, and naming only the yearly: so hath he erred in the original of their Laws, making *Solon* the father of them. But it seems otherwise For, as *b Gerardus* hath observed, *Theseus* gave Laws to the *Athenians*. And *c Plutarch* witnesseth, that when he congregated the *Attick People*, and constituted a *Democratie*, he reserved only to himself the government of war and custodie of the Laws. Δημοκρατίαν (ἀρχόντων) αὐτὸς μόνον ἄρχοντι πολέμου καὶ νόμων φύλακι χειροτόνητον. Add to this, that before the knowledg of letters and writing, it was a custome among the ancients to sing their Laws, lest they might forget them, used in the daies of *d Aristotle* by the *Agathyrsi*, a people near to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the

[b] Arist. Plut. pag. 67.
[c] In Theseo p. 8. l. 5.

[d] Problem. sect. 19. fol. 189. b.

rules

rules of Musick, for the true keeping of time, singing, and playing, are supposed to be called Νόμοι. Neither may it be thought otherwise, because all the notes of the *a Lydian, Hypolydian, &c. Dorick, Hypodorick, &c. Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Ionick, &c.* songs were distinguished by the Alphabet. yet *f Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from those bounds, which the Musitians of old prescribed, for the tuning of voices or instruments, lest they might be confounded; and therefore he calls it ὅρον τινὰ. *g Idem.* Νόμου δ' ὀνομασθέντος, ὥσπερ ἐθος ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ ἐπιτεταμένον καὶ ἀνειμένον. The *Greeks*, sayes *h Cicero*, think the cause of this word, *jus suum cuique tribuendo*, intimating νέμειν, which signifies to distribute, because the Law gives every man his due. Thus we see, that there were Laws of yore; let *i Justin* say, *Nulla civitas leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur.* That the City was without Law, because the wills of Kings were Laws. In succeeding ages, and before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Laws, living about the three *k* hundred and ninth *Olympiad* His Acts sayes *l Ælian*, were called ἄθεσμοι. Ἐκάλουν δ' αὐτὰς ἄθεσμους. Now θεσμὸς, by *m Ulpian* is interpreted νόμος παραγγέλλων τὸ δεῖ ποιεῖν. A Law giving in precept how to make a Law, And yet *n Aristotle* calls them νόμους, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great severity. Which gave occasion to *a Herodotus* to say, that they were not the Laws of man, ἀνθρωπήϊοι, in a double sense of the word, which is also put for a Dragon. And *b Demades* that they were not written with black, but blood. For he punished every peccadillo almost with death, those that were convicted of idleness, or stealing of pot-hearbs, alike to the sacrilegious and man slayers. Wherefore they were made of none effect by *Solon*. For he abrogated all, except those which concerned murther, intituled ΘΕΣΜΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ. Him succeeded * *Solon*, a man so well tempered, and equall betwixt the Commons and the Peers, that he was beloved of both

e Vide Alypium in Isagoge Musica.

f In libro de Musica.

g Loco citato p. 437.

h De leg. lib. 1. fol. 16. b.

i Loco laud.

k Clem. Alex. p. 226.

l Variæ hist. l. 8. c. 10.

m Arg orat. cont. Lept.

n Polit. 2. c. 10.

a Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 44

b Plut. in Solone p. 67. l. a.

* Demosth. p. 70.

* *His laws continued* 100. *years, sayes* Plutarch *in* Solone pag. 66. *and afterwards by little and little decayed,* Ælian. Var. hist. l. 2. c. 22. *If any spoke against them, he had corporal punishment.*

both having still a care, lest while he should side with one, he might displease the other. Whom, for his uprightness, *c Juvenal* stiles *Justum*, and for the care of the Republique, which *d Demosthenes* averres he had in all his Lawes; *e Aristophanes* termes φιλόδημον, a lover of the people. *f Plato* brings him learning his Laws from a *Barbarian*: And *g Plutarch* tells us that he travelled afterwards into *Ægypt*. But it seems by *h Ammianus Marcellinus*, that in the making of his Laws he had the approbation and judgment of the *Ægyptian* Priests. *Et Solon adjutus sententiis Ægipti Sacerdotum, latis justo moderamine legibus, Romano quoque juri maximum addidit firmamentum.* *i Diodorus Siculus* relates two things brought from thence to the *Athenians* by him. First, that all the *Ægyptians* were compelled to bring to the Governours of the countries their names written, and by what meanes they sustained themselves; wherein if any were found false, or that lived by unjust gain, he fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a custome among them, that payment should be made only with the goods of the debter, and that the body should not suffer. For they thought the estate alone to be subject to the creditor, the body addicted to the Cities in which they lived. Neither is it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergo hazard for their country, should for usury be committed to Prison, or the Country be in jeopardy for the avarice of some one man. Which induced *Solon* to make the first decree, as *k Laertius*, and *l Plutarch* say, of freeing the bodies; which, if there were not wherewithall to satisfie the craving loaner, were compelled to serve. He therefore cut off all use, *a* as some write, or else lessened the burthen of it, making it more moderate by his Law Σεισάχθεια: so called from σείειν, to shake off, and ἄχθος, an heavy weight. Forgiving himself first, *c* as *Laertius*, seven talents; or, as *d Plutarch* five. But this seems to have been done for the avoiding of the aspersion cast upon him as accessary to the injuries of some, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much

c Sat. 10. vers. 274.
d Κατὰ Ἀνδρ. p. 390.
e pag. 190.
f In Timæo.
g In Solone. p. 66. l. 31.
h Lib. 31.
i Bibliotheca.
k Initio vitæ Solonis.
l In Solone p. 82. l. 8.
a Plut. p. 82.
b Androtio.
c Loco laud.
d pag. 82. *fifteen Jayes* Polyzetus Rhodius.

much mony with hope of never making reſtitution. *e Caſaubon* is conceited, that this was not his firſt exploit, but long after he had ſate at the Stern of the Weale-publick. Yet it ſeems probable, There being no more compendious way to make a man popular, then to give liberty to the common *people*. Which he, to bring in an innovation of Laws, did willingly invent; and they afterwards lovingly accepted For in teſtimony of their approbation, they kept a Feſtival named *f* Σωτήρια. Here likewiſe you may obſerve the ancient flattery of the *Athenians* towards their own vices, putting gilded names on thoſe things, which themſelves were aſhamed of, calling *g* πόρνας, ἑταίρας. οἰκίας, συντάξεις. φυλακὴν ὁρκωμοσίαν πόλεως, δημοσίαν οἴησιν, as our blades name drunkenneſſe good fellowſhip; whores, ſhe ſinners; and niggardiſe, thriftineſſe; ſpringing from this root of *Solons*, who called χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν, Σεισάχθειαν. *h* To theſe Laws two ends were propoſed, mutuall commerce, and direction of behaviour towards the ſtate. *i* To curb wickedneſs, and unjuſtice, and to puniſh offenders that they might be bettered. And although they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we fitly call them the *Athenian* Civil Law. Each City, as *k Juſtinian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam ſi quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare jus civile Athenienſium, non erraverit*. They were ingraven in Tables of wood, called *l* ἄξονες, triangular, if we may believe the *m* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, who quotes *Ariſtotle* and *Apollodorus*, witneſſing that they were called κύρβεις alſo ἀπὸ τῆς κυρβαντικῆς ὀρχήσεως ἐν ᾗ ἀναπαίεσθαι, from the elevation. *n* Some are of opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods and their worſhip were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Laws belonging to men in the *Axones*. *Apollodorus* ſayes that all decrees are called *Cyrbes*, becauſe they were written in ſtone, and ſo ſet up *a* which from their ſtanding, were termed στῆλαι. I Know that decrees, merits, praiſe and diſpraiſe too, were written in ſtone, Whence *b* κύρβεις ſometimes may be put for a Treatiſe

e In Laert. p. 14.

f Plut. p. 67. l. 43.

g Plutarch. loco laudato.

h Demoſth. p. 477.

i Idem p. 484.

k Inſtitut. l. 1. Tit. 2. Sed jus quidem civile ex unaquaque civitate appellatur, veluti Athenienſium.

l Sch. Apollo. Rho. Argo 4.

m In Avibus p. 604.

a λίθοι στῆναι.

b Vide Nonnum in Narr. στήλη. a.

tending to a mans disgrace. But this by the way. These Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, translated afterwards to the *Prytaneum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the dayes of *b Plutarch*, some reliques of them were to be seen. The *Autographon* or copy written with his own hand was not removed, but those that were transcribed by them. Because in matters of doubt and controversie they might have recourse unto them. [a] For the distinction of which, some think that ἀξονες και κυρβεις is used in *Demosthenes* for that in the *Prytaneum*. Others for the Law in the lower part of the Table; but to me it seems improbable, for then the number of the Table ought to be cited; and indeed, one Table sometimes could not contain a Law. For we read in *d Plutarch*, that the eighth Law was cut in the thirteenth Table. I am not averse from the good of *Petitus*, who supposes the Orator to mean the Law which afterwards he quotes; nor ignorant of the Opinion of some, who think that it is to be understood of the under line. For the Laws being written *βουστροφηδον*, *conuerso sive retrogrado literarum ordine*, saies *e Sylburgius*; which *f Pausanias* explains, ὁπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν, from the right hand to the left, *g* or more significantly, Ἀπὸ τῆς πέρας τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑποστρέφων ἐπὶν τὸ δέπερον ὥσπερ οἱ βόες ἐν τῷ ἀρότῳ. When the second verse begins at the end of the former, as in the race which they call *Diaulus*, or if I shall speak nearest to the word, as husbandmen turn their Oxen when they plough, as for example.

ΒΕ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ-
ΧΟΘΕΝΩΝ

See those that have written of diverse wayes of writing.

They therefore take the lower, that is turned ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω κύκλου. After this manner were the Laws written, and doubtless there was some customes as strong as Laws. For although the *Lacedæmonians* governed by tradition of custome, and the *Athenians* by written statutes, as *b Josephus*, yet surely had their customes great force, insomuch as *i Aristophanes* uses κύκλος for ἔθος — Λέγει κύκλον χρατοῦσαν. [a] *Scholiast.* κύκλον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθους ἢ γινομένην συνήθειαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔθος. So did the *b Greeks* divide

[c] In Solone p. 66.

[*] Pollux. l. 8. p. 408.

[d] Solone p. 63. l. 37.

[e] In Pausaniam .426.
[f] In Eliacis p. 174.
[g] Eodem lib. p. 165.

[b] Contra Appionem. Vide Justinian. Just. l. 1. tit. 2.
[i] In Avibus pag. 576.
[a] Pag. 577.
[b] Vide Justinianum.

divide their Laws into ἔγγραφα & ἄγραφα, written and unwritten. The unwritten, *sine scripto jus venit, quod usus approbavit*, uſe. The *c* Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus, Νόμος ἐστὶν ἔγγραφος συνήθεια, συνήθεια δ' ἄγραφος νόμος. A Law is a written cuſtome, and a cuſtome an unwritten law. Beſides theſe there were decrees, which they termed ψηφίσματα, *pſephiſmata*, a word uſed by *d Cicero*, nothing different, ψηφισμάτων δύναμιν ἐν νόμοις. *e Demoſthenes*, who means in vertue and power. For they differ much. *f* A Law maintains juſtice once found, common for ever. A *Pſephiſma* follows the neceſſity of the time, it differs in events: it directs not warlick affairs, but is applyed unto the occaſion of arms, and laws can be abrogated, ſo decrees changed. And here ought we to note, *g* that no decree is greater then a law. Of decrees there were two ſorts; *h* τὰ τῆς Βουλῆς ψηφίσματα, ſuch as the Senate by it ſelf eſtabliſhed, which were but of twelve months continuance; to the confirming of which, the people not convocated, or their conſent required, termed ἐπικυρούμενα, which *Demoſthenes* proves to be ἰσχύοντα. *Ulpian.* ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ. Like to the edicts of the Roman Prætors which laſted but a year. *k Cicero. Qui plurimum tribunis edicto, Prætoris edictum legem annuam eſſe dicunt.* In other decrees the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the giving of the authority unto them, which endured in force a longer time. *l* τὰ δοκοῦντα τῷ δήμῳ γινόμενα, ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον. And therefore we may eaſily know a *probuleuma*. Βουλῆς τῆς βουλῆς only gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma* from a *decree* of the peoples confirming, by this obſervation. Βουλῆς τῆς δήμου, in the beginning of a decree, ſhews it to be ψήφισμα ἐπικυρωθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. *m* the Senate alwaies ſate in conſultation about that which was to be enacted, whether any damage might accrew to the State by it or no, the Law commanding that no decree ſhould go forth without deliberation. *n* ἀνεψηφίσατον ψήφισμα εἰσφέρειν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ. Which done the *Prytanes* took certain tables and wrote on them

c In Alacem Locatium.

d In Orat. pro Flacco.

e Cont. Lept. p. 296

f Ariſtides. Tom. 2. p. 30.

g Demoſth. p. 416.

h Demoſth. & Aeſchines. p. 418.

k In Verr. 1.

l Ulpian loco laudato.

m Ulp. in Arg. Orat. And. p. 181. Vide Dem. p. 181. n. 10. vi. Plut. Solone. pag. 83. l. 31.

Such or ſuch a day about ſuch a time, there ſhould be an aſſembly to conſult of theſe and theſe affairs: and this they called ἀναγόρευμα. When then they were aſſembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, ſtood: if not, decayed. It was forbidden that any ſhould raze out a Decree of any Table. And he was brought in queſtion of life, who ſhould preſume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now becauſe future time might haply perceive ſome inconveniencies to ariſe by overſight in the Law-giver, and that as abuſes ſhould happen, which in his daies were not diſcerned, ſo there would be a neceſſity of making new ſtatutes: It was ordained therefore that every year there ſhould be ἐπιχειροτονία νόμων; which *b Ulpian* expounds ζήτησις ἦν, τι δεῖ περὶ τῶν νόμων. A conſideration of what ought to be done concerning the Laws. *c* The manner was thus. Every eleventh day of *July* in the aſſembly, after the Cryer had made his Prayers, as the faſhion was, & ſhall anon be ſpoken of, the Laws were read over in order. Firſt thoſe which concerned their Senate, next their weal publick, and thirdly the nine *Archons*, & afterwards the other Magiſtrates. Then was it demanded if there were Laws enough for the Senate, and ſo for the Common-weal, &c. If any of the Laws in force were to be abrogated, it was adjourned until the laſt of the three daies of the three *Convocations*, on which the *Prytanes*, appointed for the reviſing and reciting of the Laws, were to take the matter in hand. The *Proedri* chief of the Aſſembly, were to *d* acquaint them with it. Five men at the firſt meeting, were choſen out of all the *Athenians*, who ſhould patronize the Law to be aboliſhed; and according to the Judgement of the *Nomotheta*, choſen out of the Councel of five hundred, was the buſineſs carried, that the Laws ſhould be of none effect, or full ſtength. Whoſoever would bring in a new Law, was to write it on a Table τὸν λευκώματα, *Demoſth.* the form thereof, and ſet it up at the Statutes of the *Heroes* before ſpoken of, ἐφ' οἷς ἕστηκεν, which

a Sch in Nazz. ενα. pag. 55. vid. Ulp. in Dem. p. 24.

b Demoſth. pag. 445.

c Vid. Dem. loco cit.

d χρηματίζειν Demoſth. Ulp. *expounds* ἀναβαλέσθαι. *to report.*

e Cont. Timocr. p. 446.

f Demoſth. p. 297.

which standing in a place conspicuous, that some certain daies before the Sessions, any Citizen might read what was to be handled, & if any so pleased, he might at the proposal of the Law, declare his mind either for or against it, as at the preferring of *a Bill in our high Court of Parliament*, where it is not denyed any *Burges*, or *Knight* of a shire, to speak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either with any whole Bill, or some part thereof, or in opposition to it or some one clause. Provided likewise that he who attempted to enact a new Statute, should take care for the disanulling of the old, that might contradict it, otherwise he came within the compass of παρανόμων γραφὴ, a writ of *Transgression of the Laws*: which was of two sorts. First, when time is not observed in writing them, ἀ ἔδει ἐ δεύτερα γράφειν. Next when one is made thats adverse to a former. And if it so hapned, that any perswaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale publick, he might be questioned within *b* years space; *c* but if the time was expired, he could not. *d* Nay they slew *Eudemus*, a *Cydiatheneian*, for bringing in a Law they liked not; scarce different in that one example from the *Locri*; among whom he that would propose a Law should do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his requests pleased not, he straight way powred out his soul under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators which are called *e* δημαγωγοὶ, because they lead the people with their Rhetorick and flattery, wrote Laws and decrees, as we learn out of *f Demosthenes*, and therefore are they deciphered by *g Athenæus*, οἱ λήγοντες τὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων γεγραμμένα.

a Vlp. in Dem p. 297. *b* Dem Orat. Arg. con. Lep.
c Dem. p 419
d Id p. 468.
e Gellius l. 3. c. 13 If Callistratus Athenis Orator fuit; quos illi δημαγωγοὺς appellarunt. Livie Dec. 4. of Athens ubi Oratio plurimum pollet favore multitudinis alitur. Ulpian δημαγωγὸς ὁ δήμου ἄρχων.
f Pag. 468. n. 225.
g Dipnos. l. 12.

CAPUT II.

De Comitiis. Ἐκκλησία & Σύλλογος & Ἐκκλησία, &c

THE Assemblies were called by the *Prytanes* four times in five and thirty dayes. *f* In the first they confirmed

f Pollux. l. 8. c. 9. sect. 7. pag. 398.

med the Magistrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwise they put them out. They heard publick causes, looked into confiscate goods, and possessions left by inheritance. In the second, any one with leave might freely speak of private and publick affairs. In the third they gave audience to Ambassadors, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytanes*. In the fourth, they treated of holy things, such as belonged to their Gods & worship of them. The first meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytanea*, the second the twentieth, the third the thirtieth, the fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference between the *g* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* and *Ulpian* in the daies on which they came together, one making the first day of the Month to be the day on which the first Assembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytanea*, which seems truest. And whereas they both write that every Month there were three lawful assemblies, to wit, on the first, tenth, thirtieth, or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth we are not so to reckon them, but according to the *Prytanea*, it being the *Prytanes* charge to congregate the people. They seem to have been called Κυρίαι Ἐκκλησίαι, because in them they did κυρίως διαθέσθαι, establish decrees, as the *a* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*. Other assemblies there were which are termed *b* ἀγοραῖοι when war, or any sudden accident troubled the State, then the people were called together over & above those four times in a *Prytanea*. They are styled ἀγοραῖοι, because the people of their own accord met on the other daies; but when they would have a Convocation some went about the City and called them. There is likewise *c* καταβοαὶ, when they were summoned out of the fields to go to the Assembly. It seems to me that the Crier in the streets on their lawful assemblies gave some token when they should hasten; and so much *d* *Aristophanes* witnesses, bringing in the women speaking that it is high time to be stirring, because the Cryer ἀνέκραγεν ἤδη, had cryed the second time. And indeed need was there of some warning

g In Achar. pag. 371.
b In Dem. p. 445.
a In Achar.
b Ulp. & Schol. Arist. loc. laud.
c Pol. p. 405.
d In concionantib. pag. 725.

warning, and compulsion too; for so slow were they in coming to Assemblies, that the *Legistæ* were fain to throw them to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Aristophanes* on these words, Τὸν δ' ἰματιοπῶλιν ἐν Ἀγορᾷ. Sometimes they took a rope, and dying it with red earth, they sent two slaves into the market place, who should one on the one side of the way, & the other of the opposite, pursue the people, and to whose chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certain piece of money. Hence in the *f* Comedian — Κἄνω κἄτω τὸ χωρίον φεύγει τὸ μιλτοπάφιον. Up and down they shun the cord stained with Vermilion. And again — ἡ μίλτος ἡ Διὸς φίλου Γῆλον παρῆγεν ἡ φοινίσσουσα κύκλος. *Jupiter*, the red earth which flew about made laughter. *g* Sometimes would they take hurdles, and barracado all the streets except those that led to the *Ecclesia*. Sometimes take away all their saleable wares which they brought into the Market, lest people intent on their traffique should absent themselves from the Assemblies. When they had met oft-times the company would be dismissed at some prodigious signe, as thunder, lightning, tempest, and the like, which they called *h* Διοσημίαι: or earthquakes, or other occasions, deferring the Assemblies meeting, until the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to sit, one man Sacrificed; which rites were called *a* Εἰσιτήρια, because they were done at the *entry of the Counsel*, *b* Ulpian. ἀπαγόντων τὸ ἱερεῖον τῶν βουλευτῶν. I will not justly say that it was the purification made with a young pig, before the bench was sate, and yet I may presume to averre it; the Grammarian that interprets *c* *Aristophanes* witnessing that immediatly preceding the Sessions this custome was observed by one, whom they named καθάρσιον, from καθαίρω, καθαίρομαι, which signifies cleansing, because by that he purged the Assembly, Theatre, and congress of the people. After they were sate, *d* the Cryer did pray for the good of the people, *e* and cursed those who should offer to deceive the Senate or people. After this, he speaks with a *loud*

e In Achar. p. 406.

f Aristoph. Achar. p. 372.

g Schol. Arist. loco laudato.

b Vide Arist. p. 379.

i Plut. p. 386. l. 7. & 384. l. 34.

a Demosth. παραπρ. 241.

b Vide & Ulpian. p. 351.

c In Concion. p. 718. A.

d Demosth. παραπρ. 213.

e Id. p. 418.

voice

voice *f* τὸ δ᾽ ῥῆμα τίς ἐρεῖ; Who will make a ſpeech; whereupon one of the *g* Elders aroſe that gave his verdict, it being not permitted to any to utter his opinion, before the reverend hoary head had ſpent his judgment. Whence by *h Demoſthenes* they are ſtiled οἱ πάνυ, thoſe that were wont to orate. After they had finiſhed their ſaying, others had leave to declare themſelves. Neither muſt we omit the faſhion they had to exclude all private men from their Aſſemblies, ſometimes when the Senate alone ſate, for the *Areopagitical* counſel; ſometimes to debar all ſervants, ſtrangers, and men deprived of their liberties from their convents, which at other times they admitted, and then was it called *i* ἀκατάκλειστον ἅπασι καὶ πανδοκεῖον, an open Theatre to all commers. The place of meeting was called Πνὺξ, Pnyx, διὰ τὸ πυκνοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀθροίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀστούς, frō the frequent concourſe of people there. It ſtood on a rock and therefore by *Ariſtophanes* is called πέτρας. 345. Sch. ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας. There was a ſtipend for them that came to the Aſſemblies, as you may ſee in *Demoſth. Contra Timoc.* And ὡς ἐξὸν βουλεύειν ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς. Becauſe they might be at leaſure without dammage. *Ariſt. Pol.* 1. *c.* 13. They aſſembled alſo in *Pyræum, Vlp. in Dem.*

f Alcidamas Ariſtoph. p. 372. Diod. Sic. l. 15.

g Demoſth. p. 29. Æſchines contra Creſ. initio.

h Philip. 1.

i Plut. p. 552 L. 11. 17.

CAP. III. SECT. I.

De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de Senatu Πεντακοσίων.

WHen the mutiny between the Faction of *Megacles* and *Cyle* diſturbed the *Attick* Commonwealth, *Solon* perſwaded the people that thoſe, whom for their audacity in drawing away the ſuppliants from the Altars, they named ἐναγεῖς, ſhould undergoe judgement, there were choſen *k* three hundred men ἀριστίνδην, according to their worth to ſit upon the caſe. But theſe were not a perpetual judicatory. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the uſury

k Plut. Solone pag. 60. l. 31.

uſury money, then was the grand Councel ordained, out of every Tribe, which were then but four, an hundred choſen, who by their advice ſhould direct the people in thoſe things which were to be handled, leſt any thing ſhould be inducted, or propoſed to the Aſſembly without due conſideration. Who from their office in a *Democracy* m *Ariſtotle* ſayes, are more properly called προβουλοι, but where the Root rules, βουλη. But when *Cliſthenes*, who by *Plutarch* is termed ὁ καταποντώσας τὴν πολιτείαν, had augmented the number of the Tribes from four to ten, eighty ſix years after *Solon's* Laws were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled ten times, make up the ſumme. This Councel by *Ariſtotle* is deſcribed ἡ κυριωτάτη πασῶν. *The Miſtreſs of all the reſt*, and I am not of opinion that ἡ ἄνω βουλὴ in a *Plutarch* is to be underſtood of the *Areopagus*, as if that were aboue the Senate, but as inſtituted firſt by *Solon*, and ſo related by the Author. And yet I know b one writes *Tam dignitate, fama, quam officio, ſecundum poſt Areopagitas locum obtinuere.* To this Councel none was choſen under thirty years of age; which time is ſtiled βουλευτικὴ ἡλικία by c *Libanius*. And doubtleſs d *Plutarch* juſtifies it, ſpeaking that *Demoſthenes* wrote his Oration againſt *Androtion*, *Timocrates*, *Ariſtocrates*, ὅτε τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐφικνεῖτο λόγων, when he had not attained to the managing of ſtate buſineſs, becauſe he wanted two or three of thirty years. Agreeing to this is e *Junius*, who ſayes that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very Wiſe to Magiſtracy or Councel. Nay the f Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* tells us, that green heads were not permitted to ſpeak publickly. The Law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as ſome ſay (which is trueſt) thirty, on theſe words.

Κἀγὼ παρεῖναι δ' οὐκ ἐῶ, κἂν ἐξῇν μοι, πρὶν ἂν τριάκοντ' ἔτη.

Which to be otherwiſe underſtood by ſome, is not hidden from me. They were called likewiſe Ἡλιασταὶ, as well as Ἡλιαστικὸς, and their Tribunal Ἡλιαία, from the word g ἁλίζειν,

m Polit. l. 6. c. 8.

a In Solon. p. 63.

b Poſſardus: falſe, for Pauſanias calls it ὑπάτην. in Att. p. 27. l. 15.

c In Arg. orat. cont. Androt.

d Vita decem Rhet. p. 378.

e Stobæus ſerm. 112.

f In nub. p. 157.

g Ulp. in Dem. p. 445.

which ſignifies to throng together, becauſe the people were frequent there. But the more probable reaſon is, διὰ τὸ εὐπρόσοπον [illegible] καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκεῖ ἔνδον προβάλλειν, becauſe the place was open and expoſed to the Sun. And in reſpect of this *i Ariſtophanes* makes that cold conceit branded by *Didymus*, Εἶτα κατ' ὄρθρον πλαδᾶτε ἐκεῖς ἥλιον. *In the morning then ſhalt* πλαδᾶν in the Sun-ſhine. At their admiſſion they had this Oath given them. *k* ψηφιῶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, &c. *I will give Sentence according to the Laws and Decrees of the People of Athens, and Councel of five hundred, I will not conſent to be a Tyrant, or bring in an Oligarchy: Neither ſhall my approbation be to any that ſhall diſſolve the Democracy of Athens by ſpeech or Decree. I will not cut off private uſe, or ſuffer a diviſion of the Athenian Land or Houſes. I will not bring back exil'd Men, or thoſe that are condemned. I will not thruſt out of the City any innocent againſt the Laws and Statutes of the Athenians and Senate of five hundred: neither by my ſelf, or ſuffer any other. I will not create a Magiſtrate, who hath not given an account of his former Office, whether of the nine Archons, or Agents for the holy things, or they, who at the ſame day are choſen with the nine Archons by lot, Ambaſſadors and Aſſiſtants. Neither ſhall the ſame Man bear the ſame Office twice, or two in one Year. I will not take Gifts for Judgment, neither my ſelf or others for me, or others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger then thirty. I will hear both Parties the Accuſer and Defendant alike. I will paſs Judgment aright in the thing proſecuted. I ſwear by Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres.* * There is alſo another Oath which they took, ſome Clauſes whereof, we have left in Record. *To ratifie the Laws of* Solon. Plutarch *in* Solone, *pag.* 62. *To give Counſel for the beſt of the People. To adviſe according to the Laws. I will not binde any Athenian who ſhall give three ſureties of the ſame Revenues, unleſs for Treaſon, or he conſpire the ſubverſion of State popular, or buy Cuſtome, or be engaged, or gather publick Money and not pay it. I will ſit in that order which lot ſhall direct me to, I will not permit any unleſs baniſhed*

h Ulp. loc. laudato, vide & Ariſtoph. Sc. pag. 436.

i Pag. 486.

k Dem. Orat. cont. Tim.

* *If I tranſgreſs any of theſe, let me and my houſe periſh; but if I faithfully keep them according to my oath, let us be happy and proſperous.* Dem. p. 470.

nished, to be accused or imprisoned for what is past. This last was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when *a Thrasybulus* gave them to Oath μὴ μνησικακήσειν, not to remember ancient wrongs, which they call ἀμνηστία. The Authority of this Councel was great, for it handled causes of War, Tributes, making of Laws, civil businesses & events, affairs of Confederates, collections of Mony, performance of sacred Rites, accounts of Offices discharged, appointing Keepers for Prisoners, and *Sanctiones* of Orphans, as *Xenophon. b* Resembling our Court of Parliament in *England*, by whose consent all Laws are abrogated, new made, right and possessions of private men changed, forms of Religion established, *Subsidies*, Tails, Taxes, and impositions appointed, Weights & Measures altered *&c.* As not unlike also the *Venetian Gran Consiglie*, or Senate of which the *Contarene.* d *Tutta la cura del Governo della Republica appertiene al Senato, &c.* The whole manner of the Common wealths Government belongeth to the Senate. That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and inviolable. By their Authority & Rule is Peace confirmed and War denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Common wealth at their appointment collected & gathered in, and likewise lay'd out again and defrayed, *&c.* In a word I may say of the Five hundred, as *Budæus* of the Parliament of *France*: *Amplissimam eam curiam causarumque omne genus disceptatricem justam ac legitimam esse*, that that Court is most ample, and justly, and equally defined all sorts of Controversies whatsoever. *b* To their charge was committed the making of new Ships, for which at the years end they were to be rewarded by the People. To this alludes *c Aristophanes.* c Πολλῶν τὸ χρῆν, ὅτε Βουλὴ καὶ πρύτανις κἀγὼ Μῦν' Ἀθήνας. — *d* without their consent could the people do naught, as indeed they made not any thing *Sanctum* against the Peoples wills. Hence in *e Demosthenes*, ἢν Βουλὴ προβουλεύσῃ τὴν δίκην κυρῶσαι. In testimony of their preheminence are they termed *f* Κύριοι λόγου, and οἱ ἐπὶ κρίσει. The Lords of Sentence In

a Vid. Xeno. in Ἑλλην. Cic. in ic. Phil 1. Velleium Paterculum. l. 2. p. 84. Arist. Sch. in ΦΛ. Æsch. cont. Ctesip.

b Athen. pag. 407. *See Sir* Tho. Smith *in the Commonwealth of England.*

d As Brandchirio Anditimi *hath translated it.* lib. 3. fol. 34. B.

a In Pandect. Pitio. p. 298.

b Dem. p. 385.

c Avib. p. 546

d Sch. Arist. p. 93.

e Pag. 334.

f Demosth. ταῖς ΑΔΔ.

g Idem κατὰ Μειδίου.

time of Warr they would ſend Commiſſions to their Captains, as they thought requiſite. *b* Such as in the battle between the *Lacedemonians* and their Country men in *Tanagra*, where fearing leſt *Cimon*, baniſhed by *Oſtraciſme*, ſhould betray them to the *Lacenians*, they ſent to the Commanders not to entertain him in the Army. This honour was not during term of life, but every year changed. *Apoſtolius.* ἡ ἀρχὴ δὲ ἐνιαυσίου καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν κληρωτὴν διεδίδου. Which *Anonymus in Arg. Orat. contra Androt.* expreſſes by καθ' ἐνιαυτὸν διεκλήρουν The manner of chooſing them is this *i* The chief of every Tribe on an appointed day before the beginning of the Month *Hecatombæon*, brought the names of all their Tribe that was capable of this dignitie, and caſt them written into a veſſel, and into another they put an hundred white beans, and all the reſt black; Then drawing out a Name, and then a Bean, to whoſe chance the white Bean fell to be extracted with his Name, was deſigned Senator. This they did when they had but four Tribes, and ſo four hundred Senators. But when they had tenn Tribes, there could be but fifty white Beans, to the making up of the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the election obſerved by the *k Venetians* upon the fourth day of *Decemb.* when the names of all the young men that have not by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor paſſed 25 years old, are put into a pot, and carryed unto the Prince, and there the ſame ſet before the Counceliors, with which there is an other pot, wherein are round balls equall with the number of the names written with the firſt, every one having his marks: the fift part of theſe balls is guilded with gold, the reſt with ſilver. The Prince taketh out of the firſt pot the ball, which if it be of the golden ſort, the young man whoſe name is drawn is preſently admitted to publick authority; they to whom the ſilver chance, loſe it for that time, expecting it the enſuing year, unleſs in the mean ſpace they accompliſh twenty five, at which age all the young Noble men partake of

b Plut. in Cimone. p. 356. l. 50.

i Verbo Emmius in Deſcript. Reip. Athen.

k Contaren. l. 1. fol. 11. b.

of the Cities liberties. So every year the fift part of the yongsters is chosen to give voice with the other Citizens. The use in choosing I deem the same, and shall untill I find authentick Writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Clisthenes* according to their Tribes, so by his succesors. For when they added two, the number was encreased an hundred, by reason of the Tribes *Antigonis* & *Demetrias* after named *Attalis* & *Ptolemais* in honour to the Kings of that name which were Benefactors to the State, *a* ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν βουλῶν πεντηκοστὸν μέρος ἕκαστον, ἑξακοσίων ὑπολοίπων, *b* Out of these were their Judges chosen; but such as were above threescore years old, For although Juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged under that age. οὐδεὶς ἦρχεν πρὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπ' ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς. To these was any business referred, of which the Senate and people were in suspense what to determine *c Aristoph.* Εἰπεῖν δ' ἃ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὅταν κρίνειν μέλλα περὶ γραμμάτων, ἀπροσκόπως καὶ ἐξήτασεν τοῦ ἀδικουμένου τῶν δικαστῶν παραδοῦναι. When the Council & People are in doubt how to judge a great matter, they decree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges. And no marvel. For the office of a Judge is κύριον κρίνειν, prerogative in sentence, saies *d Aristotle*, that is, to state those Questions which the Law hath not decided. The other of their giving sentence before the third year of the ninety second Olympiad I know not. Afterwards they sate by turn in their own Tribes, every one as his lot fell For there being formerly ten Tribes in *Athens*, they chose out of each five men, & to which one of the chance happened, he sate Judge. I cannot say that the manner of Election was like that of the *e Syracusans* concerning the priest of *Jupiter*, who taking the names of so many as were nominated, and casting them into a pot, created him whose name should be first drawn, of that sacred Function. But of our own must I speak. *f* When then they were appointed, they met every of them bringing with him a Table and a Wand, on which was written a Letter that did betoken some Judicatory (For there being ten Tribunals

a Stephanus περὶ φυλ.

b Arist. Sch. p. 37.

c In Vespis. p. 471.

d Pol. l. 3. c. 13 περὶ δὲ ἀρίστου ἀδυνατῶ διορίζειν.

e Cic in Verrem. Act. 3.

f Aristoph. φλ. p. 30.

every one of them was noted with a red Letter, Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, &c. to Κ, over the door) time calling them to ſit, they drew lots, and he to whom A, was taken out, ſate in the Court noted with A, and B with B, and ſo to K. This done, they ſhewed their lot to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them their Wand and Table. This they did leaſt any ſhould raſhly attempt to ſit, & pervert Juſtice. I know not whether I may better call that Rod of Authority a wand or ſtaff: becauſe that *g* Βακτηρία ἡ σκῆπτρον ἡ τριβώνιον ἢ τριώβολον, was a Proverb uſed in diriſion of the Judges. *b* This ſtaff at the dayes end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages But the *a* Scholiaſt teaches us otherwayes, ſaying, that the *Demagogi* paid them, it being manifeſt out of *Cleon's* words the Orator, Ὀλίγοις Ἡλιασταὶ, θεᾶτορες τριωβόλου, Οὓς ἐγὼ βόσκω *Judges which I feed.* Their pay was not alwaies the ſame, οὐχ ἴσον, *b* ſaies the Interpreter of *Ariſtophanes*. Firſt, they had *obolum*, which *Caliſtratus*, ſurnamed *Parnytes*, was Author of. Hence the Proverb *c* Ὀβολὸν αὔξει Παρνύτης. Afterwards it was augmented by *Callicrates*, and from him grew the word ἀπὸ τοῦ Καλλικράτους, it may be for a pretty ſumme of mony. Nay it changed, for now I read of Ὀβολὸς Ἡμιτριώβολος one, and anon τριώβολον, a *e Drachm* to two. And therefore may we conclude that it was ſometime more, ſometimes leſs. Thus having ſpoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their caſes of Law; in which I ſhall add.

When any had received wrong in *Athens*, it was their cuſtom to make their caſes known to a Magiſtrate, whoſe office it was to report to the Judicatory. And this they did by a Table in which it was written, *f* Κατηγορῶ τοῦδε ἐγκαλῶ τοῦτον διὰ τοῦδε ὅτι τοῦδε ἀδικεῖται. *I accuſe H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceeding, who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magiſtrate before the accuſation, to which *g Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tres viras veſtraque ibi nomina Faxo erunt*-- when this note was given up, the Magiſtrate asked the Plaintiff, whether he had witneſſes

g Suidas proverb.
b Sch. Ariſt. πλ. 30.
a In Equites. pag. 301.
b In Nubes pag 174.
c Appendix Vaticana.
d Zenobius.
e Sch. Ariſt. pag 487.
f Vlp. in Dem. p. 343.
g Aſinaria Act 1. p. 54.

witneſſes and would proſecute the matter, who anſwering that he intended it, had thereupon authority to ſummon the Defendant to his appearance; and this he did either by himſelf or other, called therefore καλητὴς for καλῶν is ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦτο δίκη, a bringing into ſuit, καλῶ γάρ τινα δικάσασθαι. The word ſignifies a witneſs alſo. For when they warned any to the Tribunal, they had any that ſtood by to teſtifie that they had admoniſhed them, ἵ Καλοῦμαι δὲ οἱ μάρτυρες τὸν δικάσασθαι πολίτην παρόντα ἢ ἀλλεῖς ἢ ἄλλο μήτινα. You may uſe καλητὴν for an Apparator, Sergeant, Bayliff, or the like. Sometimes they would run ſtreight to the Court, as it were headlong, in *k Demoſthenes* his phraſe, ſometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may ſee out of *l Ariſtophanes*. Κἀξ' ἄλλην αὖτὸν — But if the party could put in two ἀξιόχρεων, ſufficient to Bail, he was diſmiſſed. Hence in the *m* Comœdian. Ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς σοι παρέξω· δύο δὲ Ἀξιόχρεως. *I will procure thee a couple of able Sureties.* Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a Week or more, after the *vocationem in jus*, at which time if the Defendant were not perſonally at the Judgment-ſeat, he came within compaſs of Ἔρημα, *a Writ of Eremodicium*, refuſal to come in and anſwer. Which was avoided by ſuing for a μὴ ἔρημα in tenne dayes after. For when the party to defend was abſent, he was condemned *indictâ cauſâ*, ſo *n Budæus* expounds ἐξ ἐρήμης κατακεκρίσθαι, by this therefore the caſe was renewed, and ſtood as at the firſt, the ſentence that before paſt, being made of no force; and for this was it termed μὴ ἔρημα, *ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δοκοῦν εἶχε τὴν κυρίαν ὕστερον δὲ οὐδὲν ἰσχύσαν, becauſe in the beginning it ſeemed to carry ſome power, but at laſt was nothing.* The buſineſs then made a new, the party that was caſt by an ἔρημα, after that he had obtained a μὴ ἔρημα, was *c* within two Months to ſet the Law on foot, which they term ἀντιλαγεῖν τοῦ νόμου, or elſe the ſentence given before was ratified. Whoſoever ſhould offer to call any man to the Court, unleſs upon good grounds, was liable

b Sch. Ariſt. 190.

i Sch. Ariſt. p 442.

k ὅτι καταλαβὼν τὸν δικάσασθαι τὸν βαδίζοντα. p. 596. n. 17.

l In Veſpis p. 487.

m Ariſt. Concio, p. 753.

n In priorib. & Poſt. No. ad Pand.

b Ulp. in Dem. pag. 343.

c Pollux l. 8. p. 390.

liable to δικαστικὰς δίκας, a Writ of Moleſtation for a falſe cauſe. Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libel, which held contents of his action, and the ſumme of the Defendants anſwer. This the Greeks call *d* Ἀντιγραφὴν, *Antigraphen.* Though I know alſo, that all caſes in Law were termed *e* ἀγῶνες, ἀντιγραφαὶ. They took this courſe, becauſe the Defendant might know what to anſwer. And becauſe it was ordinary in *Athens* for knaves to accuſe out of envy, which is συκοφαντία, they made a *f* Law, that whoſoever accuſed, and had not the fifth part of the voices, ſhould be fined a thouſand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objection was alſo puniſhed in the purſe a certain ſumme; *g* which if he paid not at the conſtituted time, was fourfold; and if his ability reached not ſo far, he ſuffered impriſonment. At the preſenting of the *Antigraphe*, teſtimonies were alſo delivered (formes of which you ſhall often meet with in *h Demoſthenes*) and a copy of an Oath which the Suiter gave, in theſe words, Ταληθῆ καταγνώσεσθαι, that he would juſtly accuſe. Ταληθῆ ἀπολογήσεσθαι, that he would according to Truth make his Apology: and this they name *k* ἀντωμοσίαν. Theſe writings were caſt into a certain coffer, forth coming as occaſion ſhould require: All which *l Ariſtophanes* in one verſe comprehends. Ἀντωμοσίας γ' ἀποκλήσεις τ' ἀφορείας συκοφάντου. They joyned or put together oaths, citations, & teſtimonies. I ſo interpret it againſt the Scholiaſts mind, who will have προσκλήσεις to be Exhortations given to the Plantiff and Defendant to come to compoſition. But I know that *m* φεύγω. κλίνω, is κατηγορῶ, εἰσάγω, to accuſe, εἰς δικαστήριον, *in jus rapere*, *n* and φευγολήσιδιον, διὰ ἀφορίων ἀπαχθήσεσθαι. The cheſt or coffer was called ἰχθύς; and of this are the words of the Greek Orators to be underſtood. *o* εἰς ἰχθύν βάλλω. *p Theophraſtus* of a mad man that would *entangle* himſelf in anything ἐχῶν ἰχθύν εἰς τὴν ἀποκλήσεις, τ' δραχμὰς γεγραμμένον εἰς ταῖς χερσίν. Having an *Echinus* in his lappe, and a bundle of libels in his hands. *Pollux* make a different expoſition of this oath from

that

d You have a form of this in Demoſth. p. 628.

e Ariſt. Nub. p. 154. v. Sch.

f Demoſth. p. 716. n. 7.

g Ariſt. Schol. ver. 170.

h Unum contra Stephan. δεύτ. a. p. 622. aliud p. 624. 629.

i Schol. Ariſt. Veſp. 505.

k In Veſp. p. 467. 505.

l In Veſp. p. 504.

m Schol. Ariſt. p. 239.

n Idem p. 195.

o Demoſth. 612. n. 33. 629. n. 80. 640. n. 22. 655. n. 65. 665. n. 66.

p Charact. περὶ ἀπροσ. pag. 21.

that which other Grammarians do, confounding, as is most probable, the προωμοσία & ἀντωμοσία, with ἀντωμοσία. For προωμοσία is that first Oath which the Plaintiff gave to prosecute the party prosecuted to answer, which on the Defendants side was called ἀντωμοσία, and generally on both ὀμωμοσία was a Sacrament taken by both, the Impleader that he did ἀ παράγειν δίκην, follow the Delinquent in Law; the Defendant ἵστασθαι ἐν ὑποκρίσει ἀπράκτου, to stand stifly to it that he did not trespass. And yet *h* Ulpian makes both these one. After this were they that sued one another, admitted to the Judicatory, it being first demanded of the suiter *c* whether he would *persequi*, follow the suit, and had sufficient witness for evidence; in causes capital it was asked if there were need of any who could not then be present. This Interrogation was termed *d* Ἀνάκρισις. If then any thing was deficient, the Judgment was prorogued by an *e* ὑπωμοσία or oath, which the Plantiff took, that for the present he could not perform it, but certainly would. *f* Perhaps for that time pretending sickness, death of friends, or some urgent necessity, on which their fortunes might depend when then all things were ready, and at hand, they proceeded towards the Tribunal, the Judges first swearing *g* that they would give sentence according to the Laws, and in those things concerning which there were no Laws, according to conscience and equity (which the Greeks call γνώμην δικαιοτάτην) *h* and of those things only concerning which they did debate. This Oath seems to have been taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little stones (of these by and by) with which they gave sentence. *i* *Plutarch* ἔλιθον ἀπὸ βωμοῦ φέρονται. The Oath is called ἀμωμοσία. Then went the Judges to their seat *k* neatly spread with mats, in Greek ἕλαδα, and ἕλαδαι, and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the bars in this form *l* ἐπὶ σανίδων ἔξω they sate down; for we must know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in, as the Romanes, with lattice I suppose, by them

a Schol. Arist. Vesp. 50.

b In Demosth. p. 287.

c Vide Ulpian in Dem. p. 347. 341.

d Bud. in Annot. Rel. ad Pan. p. 341.

e Ulpian in Dem. p. 226. *the* Schol. of Aristoph. *Makes it the same with* ἐπωμοσία. αλ. pag. 75.

f Ulpian. in Demosth. 341.

g Pollux. l. 8. p. 406.

h Demosth. p. 628.

i Pag. 127.

k Aristoph. Sch. p. 239.

l Demosth.

called *m* καγκελωτὰ *Cancellata* by the Greeks κιγκλίδια though κιγκλὶς more properly ſignifies the door of the δικαστήριον before which was *o* a rope of 50 feet in length drawn, & publick ſervants ſet, that none might enter, but who had buſineſs. The partition I think was but weak, and therefore by *Demoſthenes* called *p* ἀσθενὴς κιγκλίς. Within which none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore when *q Demoſthenes* did long to hear *Calliſtratus* plead concerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Padagogue* that he would bring him where he might have the happineſs to be an Auditor. The *Padagogue* therefore acquainted with the publique Officers that opened the doors, πῶς ἀνοίγονται τὰ δικαστήρια δημοσίᾳ procured him a place where he might hear and not be ſeen, ἐν ᾗ καθήμενος ἀθέατος ἀκούσεται. When the Judges had gone within the Barres, leſt any ſhould be wanting, the *Præco* cried *b* Εἴ τις ἔνδικος ἢ ἄδικος, εἰσίτω, if any Judge be without the door of the place of Judgment, let him enter. *c* Becauſe if any came after the Caſe began to be pleaded, he could not have admiſſion. Being then ſeated, the Crier read the Inditement, ἐγκλημα (a copy of ſome part of which you have in *Demoſth.* ΕΒΛΑΨΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΤΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΒΟΤΛΕΥΣΑΣ ΕΜΟΙ, &c. (in which, according to the cuſtome of *r* the old *Ægyptians*; were given up to the Court in writing all the reaſons of accuſation, the wrong received and the manner of it, with an eſtimation of the dammage; The ſeveral heads of which the Judges wrote down, leſt the Impleader and Defendant ſhould ſwerve from what they had in hand. Then ſtood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left hand of the Tribunal, and ſpake an accuſatory Oration, made for the moſt part by ſome of the *Attick* Oratours: which uſe brought in by * *Antiphon* the *Rhamnuſian*, *f Clemens* of *Alexandria* calls δικανικὸς λόγος εἰς ἔνδικον γεγραμμένος. *g Cicero*, *ſcribere aliis cauſas: quibus in judiciis uterentur*, ſuch as *Lyſias* is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which leſt it ſhould exceed in length, was limited to a certain time, by a veſſel, in

m Pollux, l. 8. p. 407.
n Pollux loco citato.
o *This is* ἀπόσχεσμα, Pollux.
p Pag. 485.
q Plutarch. in Vita.
b Ariſtoph. pag. 494.
c Ariſtoph. Schol. Ibid.
d περὶ παραγραφῶν.
e Boemus De Coſtumi delle Genti lib. 1. cap. 5.
* Ariſt. Rhet. l. 1. c. 33.
f Strom. 1. pag. 226.
g In Bruto.

in the bottome of which was a ſmall hole for water to runn as ſand doth in our hour-glaſſes, thence called κλεψύδρα into which was poured an equall meaſure of water; and leaſt there ſhould be deceit there was an officer made for that purpoſe named *b* Ἐπύδωρ, ὁ παρεπιλάττων ἢ ἴσωτα ἢ κλεψύδρα filling alike for the impleader and anſwerer *i* when therefore the glaſs was runn, it was not lawful for them to ſpeak farther. *k* nay for ſcantneſs of time they were compelled to paſs by many things; and for that reaſon were they chary of their water, bidding that it ſhould be ſtopped at the reciting of Laws or the like, which *Demoſthenes* intimates in Ἐπίκλησις τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ μίαν ἐπιλαμβάνει is to ſtop the noſe in *l Ariſtophanes. m Apuleius. At tu interim dum legit, aquam ſuſtine. Pancirollus Naſi aqua interim effluxiſſet, amplius ſibi dicendi prohibita foret facultas*, leaſt he might not have leave to ſpeak any more, if the water were ſpent if any would give way to another to ſpeak while this glaſs was running he might which *Dem.* teſtifies, ἐν τῇ ἐμοῦ ὕδατι λαλούντι But if he would not permit it; he bid the *Præco* caſt it forth ἀ'ξίει τὸ ὕδωρ. *Ulpian.* Τυτίδιον ἐκκαλλᾶς, From which kind of pleading it grew into a proverb *b* πρὸς τὴν κλεψύδραν. *c Cicero ad clepſydram*, to ſpeak by the hour or allotted time. His ſpeech being ended he ſate down. *d* The defendant then ſitting all that while over againſt him, until he had finiſhed, after addreſſed himſelf to his anſwer which he made from the right hand of the Judicatory, where he had a pulpit, and ſtation for this reaſon ſaies *e Ariſtotle*, becauſe they would make both parties equal. For the Suiter having the better part, they gave the upper part to the defendant. Or becauſe οἱ ἀντιδικοῦντες or defendants, were for the moſt part in cuſtody; If therefore the guard ſtood on the right hand, the defendant ſtood there alſo; Thence then he pleaded for himſelf in which plea he was only to wipe out thoſe accuſations which his adverſary laid againſt him, *f* ἐξῆν κατηγορηθέντα λύσειν ἑαυτόν, and in that had the plaintiff a prerogative for he might

b Pollux l. 8. p. 414.
i Ulpian. in Dem p. 256.
k Demoſth. περὶ Βοιωτ. p. 589.
l In Plutο.
m Apologia.
a Demoſth. ὑπὲρ φορμ.
b Ariſtoph. pag. 617.
c Tuſc. Qu. l. 2 in fine.
d Ulpian in Dem. 226.
e Problem. διὰ τί δίκαιόν ἐστιν τὸν μὲν καθῆσθαι τὸν δὲ ἑστάναι.
f Ulpian in Demoſth. p. 252.

g Loco laudato.

h Demosth 219

i Clemens Alexand.

They had certain pettifoggers under them that administred the Laws and forms of action. Cicero apud Græcos infimi homines mercedula adducti ministros se præbent in judiciis Oratoribus iis, qui apud illos σαγμαλιεῖς vocantur.

k Corneliana Vide ad Articum. l. 1. c. 13.

l Vide Laertium in vita ejus.

object what he would, nay and as *g Aristotle*, forecast all before he commenced his suit. And feigned to himself what he pleased; the defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that instant *h* to clear himself, either by witness, or probabilities, of all doubts whatsoever the plaintiff could cast in. Sometimes the Plaintiff and Defendant would desire advocates of the Judges συνηγόρους, hence *i* ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνηγορεῖν to plead for a fee. In the time of their Pleading witnesses were called, who came in and gave their testimonies; and after they had uttered what they had to say; they went to the Altar (as it seems to me either in, or very nigh the Judicatory) and swore *k Cicero. Athenis aiunt cum quidam apud eos sanctè graviterque vixisset, & testimonium dixisset publicè & ut mos Græcorum est: jurandi causâ ad aras accederet, unâ voce omnes Judices, ne is juraret, reclamasse.* They report that in *Athens* when a certain man (*l Xenocrates*) who had lived Godly and gravely among them, had given witness, and as the fashion of the Greeks is, approached to the Altar to take oath, all the Judges with one voice cryed that he should not. (They would not it seems, have belief rather be bound with religion then truth) Fit to this is the answer of *Pericles* to a friend of his desiring him μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ to testifie a lie; which he was to avouch with an oath, I am your friend, quoth he, to the Altar, that is as fare as conscience, religion and honesty shall permit; hence ἄχει φωμὶ εἰς βωμὸν *usque ad Aras*, grew I suppose to be a proverb. *Plut. Apoph. p.* 122. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I cannot justly say; in delivering their testimonies they were wont to touch the tips of the eare (for reason to me unknown) called λοβοὶ from λαμβάνειν, *Etymologicon*; (But I rather may suppose it to be a Roman fashion, where the Plaintiff was wont to pinck his witness by the eare, for remembrancesake. *Horace lib. 1. Sat. 9. Licet attestari? ego vero oppono auriculam.*— To which *Virgil* looked, saying *Cynthius aurem vellet & admonit. Eclog. 6.*) and at the end thereof

thereof with all deſtruction to themſelves and houſe if they dealt falſly. Which if they did, they were ſubject to a writ ψευδομαρτυρίων, of falſe witneſs and he that ſuborned them ἀγωγὴ κακοτεχνιῶν. Sometimes the witneſs was not preſent at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear ſay, which the Greek Lawyers term ἀκοαί, as ἐκ ἀκοῆς πλαδαιτέων when they take it from thoſe that are dead which went for currant and was allowable: But to bring a teſtimony from the mouth of one that was alive and within the Territories of *Athens*, It would not paſs. As neither theirs who were diſcarded the liberties of the City, ἄτιμοι or ſervants, or any man in his own cauſe. *a* The manner of witneſs was two-fold, either by perſonal appearance and teſtifying ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους and then he was called μάρτυς, in no caſe lyable to the Law, ἀνώμοτος: or elſe by writing, by which he offered himſelf to his queſtions or attachments in law, againſt whom he witneſſed, if he were not true; and this is μαρτυρία. Both parties being heard and the altercation ceaſed the *Preco* cryed, *To whom E. N. hath ſeemed to violate right* (ſo they interpret ἀδικεῖν *jus violare*) *let him caſt in the black ſtone, or hollow, to whom he ſeemeth not, the whole or white:* For we muſt know that anciently the Greeks gave their ſentences with black and white pebles, called *b* ψῆφοι (which the French reſemblably term *Parcellanes* χοῖς & *percus*) *Ovid*

Mos erat antiquis, niveis atriſque Lapillis
His damnare reos, illis abſolvere culpâ.

The antique faſhion was with white ſtones to abſolve, with black to condemn the accuſed. Pertinent to which is the ſaying of *Alcibiades*, when he was called out of *Sicilie* to go home and anſwer for his life, counting it fooliſh to go thither whence he was never like to eſcape, when one aſked *d* ἐκ πατρίδος τὴν πατρίδα ἢ πῶς οὐ μέλλοις; Wilt thou not truſt thy country which begat thee to be thy Judge? ἀλλὰ τῇ μητρὶ quoth he ἀδικοῦσά γε μὲ ἀγνοοῦσα δὲ ἐκείνη τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἢ μέλλουσα φεύξεσθαι ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔφυν. No not her that brought

a Ulpian in Demoſth. 238.

m Demoſth. p. 619. 634.

b Ariſtoph. 438
c Metamorph. 15. F. 1.

d Ælian. Var. lib. 13. c. 38. Plut Mor. p. 140

me forth. For I fear least she being ignorant, and not conceiving the truth mistake the black for the white stone. The black made *tristem sententiam*, and was so named, the sad sentence; the white *candidam* or acquitting. They used likewise black and white beans, in respect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have spoken as a Riddle κυάμους μὴ ἐσθίειν not to eat beans, by, *e Nonnus* interpreted μὴ προδιδόναι τὸ δίκαιον ἀναιδοδώροις χείμασιν. Not to undermine justice with bribes, or that men should get by the perverting of equity. I see no reason, but that I may think he means men ought not to be too forward in getting places of Judgment. For *f* κυαμοτρώξ in *Aristoph.* is by the Scholiast expounded ῥητορικός, and γεύεσθαι κυάμων is used for a judge, which properly signifies an eater of beans. But afterwards they had little pellets of Brass, The bloody ones of them were pierced through, therefore termed, *h* τετρυπημένοι: the saying were whole, ὅλοι. Of these every one took, of each one from the Altar, as I have said, *i* where laying their hands upon the ψῆφοι, or balls, they intimated by a transposition of them (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black again) that they would not for envy or by respects, but indifferently and truly *k* judge. When then they were readie to pass sentence, *l* the Priest carried about the κάδον or καδίσκον, a certain pitcher (for so *b Xenophon* calls it, ὑδρίαν) having on the mouth of it a conveiance like a Tunnel, named σωλὴν but the top thereof was covered close, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoyding of deceit. I suppose, least one man might cast in more; & therefore were they to touch the ψῆφον only with their forefinger, middle, and thumb. *c Aristoph.* Τὰς τρεῖς ἀκμὰς τοῦ δακτύλου, ἀντίσχου. But we must know that the black and white pellets were not promiscuously cast into one pot, but two; *d* The one which freed was made of Brass called πρότερος whether because the first threw into it their voices, or because it may signifie the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being woodden

e In Nazt. Stelit. 17.

f Pagina 290.
g Lysistrata. p. 870.

h Pollux. l. 8. p. 407. Ulpian in Dem. 470.
i Ulpian in Dem. p. 162.

k Aristoph. 585.
l Pag. 263.

c Pag. 439. vid. Schol.
d Aristoph. Vespis 502.

wooden ἴτυος. After the Crier had gone round with both, because some would keep their balls, and for favour not give their voice against a friend or great person, therefore be cried *e* τίς ἀφῆκεν, ἀνιέτω, who hath not cast in his ball? Let him rise. So he rose and threw it in. Then they took them out and numbred them, and in matter of Lands, mony, or the like, whose vessel (for there were as many set, as the number of the litigants came to) had most, got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magistrate stood by with a Rod, and laid it over those that were told, lest they should mistake the one for the other, or wittingly do it. For so were they wont to do; thence named *f* ψηφοκλήται. Which *g* *Tucer* objects to *Menelaus* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulysses*, and therefore he calls him κλεψιτεύχου ψηφοφόρου. Sch. ἔκλεψεν κρύβδην; not amisse ψηφοκλέπτου. *h* When the number was known, if the white or solid balls were more, they took their Tables, which they had in their hands, and drew a short line, as a token of absolution, if the black or hollow were more, they drew a longer line as condemning. Hence *i* ἅπαξ τιμᾶν ἀποφεύγειν, may be used, for to condemn every body. The thing it self they termed *k* κλαδίζειν as *Aristophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown (*l* as none ever was without the sentence of the Judges) his adversary wrote down what dammages he should pay, which they term ἐπιγράφειν. *m* *Plutarch* λέγει πλείονα ἐπιγεγράφθαι εἰς τὸν δικαίου ἐπιγραφόμενον. *n* For it was an use of old for those that went to law to make agreements, I know not whether by oath, for they did swear by three Gods Ἰκέσιον, Καθάρσιον, Ἐξακεσίνεων, and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would stand to such and such conditions, before sentence, that he that was cast should undergoe somewhat; and afterwards ἐπιγράφειν, that is, set down what loss of limbs or life or means, &c. for although they did *o* ἐπιγράφειν give their estates as pledges to answer and meet at the Court; yet it may be that may be lesse or more then the fine There was

e Aristoph: Vespis.

f Schol. Naz. in ταλ.

g Sophocles Ajace. p. 68.

h Schol. Arist. 428.

i Aristoph. Vesp. loco cit.

k Pag. 491.

l Aristoph. p. 472.

m *Cius jur.* p. 454.

n Schol. Arist. in ταλ. p. 50.

o Schol. Arist. p. 740.

in

in causes capital an other proceeding, like to that in the City of *Venice*, where they gave two sentences. In the first they determined whether they should condemn or free: If in the first he was condemned, the manner of punishment was ordained in the second: but if in the first they found no cause of death, they bad the accused to fine himself, which *b Xenophon* intimates by ἐπιτιμᾶν, and if it were too little the Judges doubtlesse made it more, as the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes* if I forget not: the custome is set down by *c Cicero*, speaking of *Socrates*: *Ergò ille quoque damnatus est, &c.* And he too was condemned; not only by the first suffrages, but also by those which by the appointment of the Laws they were to give the second time. For in *Athens* the accused being found guilty, if the Offence were Capitall, they weighed and considered the Penalty. When the sentence was to be given by the Judges, they asked the Defendant, what he thought himself to have deserved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common-wealth this is not observed.) In Trial, if there be more for the prisoners liberty, then against him, he is streight acquitted, but if more then half be in the pot of *condemnation*, he suffers. *d Socrates* at the first had two hundred eighty and one more against him then on his side, and at the next eighty more were added to the former, so in all he had three hundred threescore and one condemnatory suffrages. But fewer might have done as much. For we read in *e Demosthenes* of *Cimon* like to be punished with death, πλὴν τριῶν ψήφων, if there had not been wanting. And again, *f* τριῶν μόνων ψήφοις διαφυγεῖν τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ τιμηθῆναι. Nay one was sufficient, *g Demosthenes*. Μιᾶ μόνον ἐλλιπὼν ψήφῳ. But *Ulpian* on the place ὀφὶ μικρὰ διδόναι τιμήματα, sayes that he was lightly punished. *h* If the voyces were equal, then was the prisoner looled; because sometimes he might be accused upon suspition, or of those things which he did not willingly commit; or perhaps was sued out of envie, and many other reasons given by *i Aristotle*; therefore did the Lawgiver leave

a Contaren. de Rep. Ven. l. 3.
b Apolog. Socr. p. 165.
c de orat. 1. fol. 61. b.
d Laert. in Socrat p. 215.
e Pag. 436.
f Pag. 430.
g P. 338.
h Aristoph. p. 244.
i Probl. 7μ. xθ.

leave ſome place for pitty and compaſſion, To which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the *k* deſerts of their anceſtors, their own lives formerly well led. *l* Sometimes ſhewed they their wounds; and brought the venerable gray hairs of their parents, but *m* mothers chiefly, to intercede in ſilence: Sometimes embracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view: or cauſed them *a* to come up into the βῆμα, or pulpit, and ſupplicate with teares *c* which wrought ſo much upon the Judges, that *b Ariſtophanes* in a ſcoff preſents one Σμικρίνας τὰ τῶν γονέων, drowning his ſentence in weeping. Then in compunction would the Judges ſpeak to the Priſoner, *c* Κατάβα, Κατάβα, wiſhing him to go down from the βῆμα, a token often of Mercy; though now and then it proved otherwiſe. Nay it was a word of diſpleaſure too, as when *d Plato* would have been Advocate for *Socrates*. Νῦν δ' ὦ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐάν τι ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναβαίνων, they thundred out Καταβάινων, τυπτέσθω κατάκοπος: Neither may I forget *e Amynias* the brother of *Æſchylus* the Tragœdian, who, when the people would have ſtoned his brother for ſome impiety brought on the ſtage, held up his elbow and arm without a hand loſt in the fight at *Salamis*: by which ſpectacle the Judges calling to mind the merits of *Amynias*, diſmiſſed the Poet. Neither may I omit what *f Xenophon* objects to them, that they cared not ſo much for juſtice, as regarded what might conduce moſt to their own profit, and be convenient: *g* As that they condemned innocents, and ſpared offenders that could ſpeak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs was the prolonging of caſes a whole year, ſaies *h Xenophon*, and *i Ariſtophanes* Ἀλλ' ἐχθὲς ἦν τὰ δεκαζόντων ἔτους, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἀναβιβάνεται. Now we do not handle ſuits of above threeſcore years, but we are put off till the next day. Τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀγῶνας οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ διαιτάζομεν. For we come to triall within twenty years. This *Xenophon* imputes to the multitude of their imployments. As long as the caſe hung in ſuſpenſe, the name of

k Dem. p. 492.
l Ariſt. T. 3.
m Dem. p. 493.
a Ariſt. loco cit. τοῦτο ἀναβαίνειν βαζόμενον.
c Ariſt. pp. 469. 499.
b Veſp. p. 499.
c Sch. Ar. 500.
d Laert. Socr. p. 115.
e Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 19.
f Athen. Rep. ὃ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ πᾶσι καὶ δεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ αὐτοῖς συμφέροντι.
pag. 404.
g Apol. Socr. initio.
h Athen. Rep. p. 406. Ἐκκλησιάζ. 752, 753.
i They are translated fooliſhly into Latine. οὐδεὶς.
k what the Proſtour in the civil Law uſually mean by in proximum.

k Budæus in Pand. No. Relig. p. 31.

l Demoſt. in Mid. 347.

the accuſed was (as among the *Romans*, whence *k Rei perjurii*) expoſed to a publick Table to the view of all men, which they terme ἀναγράφειν. *Demoſthenes.* ἀναγράψαι τοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. *Ulpian.* κατηγορῶν ἐν πίναξι βλάπτειν. You ſee here the place too. viz. at the Statues of the *Eponimi*. Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but αἰτία, by *l Demoſthenes* termed ψιλὸς λόγος, a bare report; but after proof ἔλεγχος. ὅταν δὲ ἅπαξ τις, ἐν πλήθει ὢν τῶν δίκην. After judgment paſt, *m* κρίμα. An inditement of ſacriledge, theft, murder, treaſon, is but αἰτία; the evidence and conviction make it ἔλεγχος, the ſentence κρίμα.

m Cont. Andro. 388.

n Dem. p. 406.

CAP. III. SECT. II.

De areopago, & ejus appellatione. Areopagita

ON the hill on which the *Acropolis* was built, ſtood the *Areopagus*, in the old Tranſlation of the Acts of the Apoſtles rendered *Vicus Martius*, by our Engliſh men, *Mars his Street*, falſly. For *a* πάγος bears not that ſignification, but what *b Juſtin Martyr* interprets, ὑψηλὸς τόπος, an eminent place, Ἐν γὰρ ὄχθῳ τινὶ ὑψηλῷ ἱδρύτο τὸ δικαστήριον. For that Judicatory was on a high rock. Therefore named by *c Æſchylus* & *d Euripides*, Ἄρειος ὄχθος, by *e Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, and *f Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra*: ſo called, as fond Antiquity would have it, *g* from the judgement of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the ſonn of *Neptune*. But *h Juſtin Martyr*, becauſe he was there arraigned of adultery, μοιχείας ἐξετάζων ἐδίκαζεν. But alike true. It pleaſes me well to conſider the ſuperſtition of the ancients, that conſecrated high places to their deities, and erected the ſtatues of their Gods upon hills. As *i Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Anchesmus*,

a When Tullius *had divided the Roman field, he made on high hills & places fortified by nature, refuges for the husbandmen and called them* πάγους Dion. Hal. 4. *Not as if it ſignified a village but as it was ſituated: For* Pagus villa ruſtica *comes from* πηγὴ *Becauſe built near a well.*

c Eumenid. p. 296. d Elect. p. 836. e Metamorp. 1. 6. fab. 2 f Vide Scalig. in conject. g Demoſt. p. 413. Paul. p. 26. Simeon. Met. & Pachym. in vit. Dionyſ. Areopag. h Loc. citato. i Paul. Attic. p. 31

whence

whence *Jupiter Parnethius, Hymettius, Ancheſmius.* And as in *Athens, Neptune* had a Hill Ποσειδῶνος ὄρος, *Saturne* another Κρόνου ὄρος, *Pan* another, Πανὸς ὄρος, *Mercury* another Ἑρμοῦ ὄρος, ſo *Mars* his *Areopagus.* k *Eſchylus* gives a nomination from the *Amazons*, ſacrificing to *Mars* there, when they came & fought againſt *Theſeus.* Or if you will receive the opinion of others, it takes the name from the caſes in it handled, of blood willfully ſhed: ſo *Heſychius*, Ἄρειος φόνος, That when *Juvenal* cals it *Curiam Martis*, you may interpret it, *The Court of Murther*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the *m Tragœdian, the moſt uncorrupt, ſharp, reverend Conneel*, then which nothing is more conſtant (ſaies *n Tully* comparing to it the Roman Senate) nothing more ſevere as by *o Pſeudo Dictys Cretenſis* it is ſtilled *Judicium ſeveriſſimum per omnem Græciam.* Then which none Judged better; more juſt, or honeſt, ſaies *p Xenophon. q Plutarch* writes that this Court was ordained by *Solon*, and *r Cicero* received the like opinion; but that ſeems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* preſently brings, quoted in the thirteenth table, that they who had loſt their liberties ſhould be reſtored again, unleſs they were condemned by the *Areopagites, Ephetæ, Prytanes, Baſileis*, of murther, ſlaughter, tyranny, when that Law was enacted. And by and by, *f* Τίνες δὲ ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Σόλωνος, &c. Who were condemned in Areopagus before *Solons* time (if he firſt inſtituted the *Areopagites*.) *t* Others are of opinion, that *Solon* added the *Areopagites* to the *Ephetæ* (Judges ſo called, becauſe when formerly the *Baſileus* made inquiſition after murther unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it ἐφετικὸν, that is, tranſlated it to the *Ephetæ*, their number was but fifty one. And thought they judged in five Courts once, yet by little & little they became ridiculous.) *u Poſſardus* ſaies, he aboliſhed their ſeverity, and ſubſtituted the *Areopagites.* But *a Urbe Emmius* more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate, but brought it into a better form, made it more ſtrong and firm and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it ſeems leſſened

k Eumenid. p. 296.

l Satyr. 9. v. 100
m Æſchylus pag. 297.
n Ad Attic. l. 1. Ep. 11.
o De bello Troj. l. 6. p. 147.
p Ἀνωμαμ. p. 448.
q In Solone pag. 63.
r Offic. l. 1.
f Loc. laudato
t Pollux. l. 8. p. 407.
u De Athen. Mag. p. 446.
a De Rep Athen. p. 20.

leſſened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Epheta*; *Solon* reſtored that authority and made it greater.*b* To this company none were admitted, but wiſe, wealthy and noble men; *c* famous for good life, and innocency, τὸν οὐδὲν ἀνεύθυνον, whom no man could juſtly charge of miſdemeanour. Nay, men whoſe behaviour was intollerable, *d* ὃς πρὶν ἄλλον τρόπον ἔζησαν ἄπιστοι ὄντες, after they were choſen into the Colledge of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and bluſhing at their former diſpoſitions, ἐκ τοῦ τὸν τρόπον χρῶμα, changed their natures, & embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertain, *e Nicephorus* makes them but nine; as *Maximus* too out of *f Philochorus*; *Pachymerius* fiftie and one. But what *Maximus* produces after, is ſomewhat, that they conſiſted of fifty and one, beſides the Nobilitie moſt wiſe and rich. πλὴν ὀξ Ἐννεαρχῶν τῶν πάλαι τῶν βίου σώφρονι διαπεφώτων. By which words he ſeems to aym at the nine *Archontes*, *g* who when they had governed one year, and given an account of their offices, and had adminiſtred all things juſtly, were choſen yearly into this ſociety. For which election annual, the number was doubtful. For ſome might die in that ſpace or all live, and in the next year be increaſed. *Volaterran* out of an old inſcription in *Acropolis* that they were three hundred; ΤΩ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩ, &c. To the moſt famous *Ruſius Feſtus*, *Proconſul* of *Greece* and *Areopagite* the *councel* of *Areopagus conſiſting of three hundred*; and the people of *Athens* ſet up this monument *for a teſtimonial of his good will and benevolence*. But that might only happen when this was erected. *b* They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out, εἰ μήτι μεγάλων ἁμάρτῃ, unleſs for ſome grand offence, *i Bozius* tels us (how true I wot not) that they were all Prieſts. *Athenienſes olim, &c.* The *Athenians*, quoth he did ſtrive to challenge to themſelves the prerogative of wiſdome, and to them is it bent what the Apoſtle ſaies, *The Greeks ſeek after wiſdome*. Nevertheleſs their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things conſiſted of Judges that were Prieſt, and the High Prieſt

b Vid. Maximum in Prolog. ad S. Dionyſ. opera & Niceph. lib. 2. in vita Dion.
c Pachymer. *d* Iſoc. in Areopag. p. 133.
e Loco ſupra laudato.
f Atthid. l. 2.
g Anonym. in Argu. Oratio. Androtia.
" *They were of thoſe Magiſtrates that were choſen by Lot, as the* Archon, Theſmothetæ, Baſileus, Polemarchus, *for which cauſe* Pericles *was not of that number becauſe he never attained to theſe offices* Plut. in Peric. p. 113.
h Anonymus loco laudat.
i De ſtatu Italiæ adverſus Machiavel.

Priest of all that asked every of their sentences, took the suffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For *k* they were overseers of all, *l* Judges of wilfull murthers, wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make some, having a desire to drive a man out of *Athens*, go to a Chirurgion and make an incision in their heads, that they might sue him whom they hated upon an action of battery, as *m* *Mantitheus* against *Boëtus*. They sate upon incendiaries, and impoisoners, if the party dyed that took their doses. *a* They saw that the Laws should be put in execution, such as *Constaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statutes. *c* In a word, all great *delinquencies* came under their censures. They inquired into the behaviours of men: & we read in *d* *Xenophon* that they sharply reproved a young man for his loose living. Ἀναξιλεων ἐδίωξεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρειου παγίτου, &c. saies the *Dipnosophist.* *e* *Valerius Maximus.* *Est & ejusdem urbis* *f* *sanctissimum consilium Areopagus, &c.* There is likewise in that City the most sacred Councel *Areopagus*, where they were wont most diligently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what gain he maintained himself, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they must give an account of their lives, might embrace honesty. *g* The Greek author tels us that except in great cases of necessity they medled not with state affaires, but it seems otherwise. For if any one say, quoth *h* *Tullie*, that the *Attick* Republick can be well governed, without the council of the *Areopagites*; he may as well say that the World may be governed without the Providence of the Gods. when the *Medes* and *Persians* invaded *Greece*, *i* by the advice of them was the war waged, wherein *Themistocles* purchased an everlasting memory of a victory. *k* And when their publik Treasury was bare, they furnished each man with eight *Drachmes*, and stored the ships with Mariners. Which advice, when they had wonne the day, was a cause saies *l* *Aristotle*. Συνεβουλευσεν σιτῶνας ἢ μισθὸν, to give strength and sinews to the

k Plutarch, Solon. p. 63.
l Ælian. Var. l. 15. c. 15. Dem. p. 406.
m Demost. in Orat. περὶ Βοιωτίας τραύματος.
a Dem. p. 445
b Pachymer.
c In Sympos. unless I am extreamly forgetfull It is quoted likewise by Athenæus. Dipnos. l. 4. p. 167.
e Lib. 2. c. 6.
f Aristides. T. 1. p. 334. περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι δικαστηρίων συμβουλευτικῶν καὶ ἀγωνιστικῶν.
g Anon. Arg. Orat. Andoc.
h De natura Deorum 2. *i* Est enim bellum gestum consilio Senatus ejus. Cicero Off. 1.
k Plutarch. in Themistocl. pag. 84. l. 2.
l Poll. l. 5. c. 4.

Commonwealth. *m* Under their sight were all the youth of *Athens*. For this reason especially, because that when they were reckoned among men, & were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them then when they were children (not observed by our Countrymen in sending their sons young to the *Inns of Court*) youth and heat of blood, unstaidness in judgement, rashness in adventures, and proneness to vice, leading or rather carrying headlong tender years to their own destruction. To them appertained blasphemies against their Gods, violating of Religion, and divulging Mysteries, as when *n Euriclides* the *Hierophanta* in answer to the question of *Theodorus*, Τίνες οὖν εἰσὶν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια; who offended against the mysterie? Οἱ μὴ μυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐπιδεικνύντες, replyed, such as open them to those who are not initiated. Therefore quoth the Philosopher, art thou impious. For which crime, had not *Demetrius Phalareus* befriended him, the *Hierophanta* was in danger, εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἀναχθῆναι κρίσεως, to have been brought before the Council of *Areopagus*. By vertue of which authority S. *Paul* was here judged for teaching strange Gods (as they supposed.) *a* For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*, yet their Lords made them αὐτονόμους, *sui juris*, & permitted them to keep their ancient customes. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus, After the fellony committed, the appellant brought his indictment to the *Basileus*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three several times to debate the business, in the fourth month, brings in the acculation to the *Areopagites*, *b* and putting off the Crown which he was wont to weare, sate down as judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, saies *c Lucian* that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken. It being there forbidden *d* προοιμιάζεσθαι ἢ διαπαθεῖν, to move to compassion, and use Proems, as in other Courts wherein they craved the Judges favour and attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed προοίμια. This *f Aristotle*

m Isocrates Areop. p. 132.

n Laert. lib. 2. in Aristip. p. 154.

a Simeon Metaphrast.

b Pollux. l. 8.

c Hermotim. p. 795.

d Pollux. p. 405.

e Vide Ulp. in Demost. pag. 396.

ſtotle calls ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν, to ſpeak beſide the matter. Before the trial both parties ſwear (which they ſtile *g ὅρκους.*) The Appealer ſtanding upon the *teſtes* of a Goat, a Ram, and a Bull (uſuall to the *Greeks*, as *Tyndarius* ſwore the Suiters of *Helena*, that they ſhould revenge any wrong done to her, and her predeſtinated husband, *h ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου γάμῳ*, and *Hercules* to the children of *Helena* ἐπὶ τῷ παίδων γάμῳ) took oath, therefore named *i ἔμμηνος*, in which he maintained that he dealt juſtly and rightly, and that he was joyned in affinity to the ſlain man, *k* which if he were not, he could not proſecute, the Law forbidding. The reaſon why he ſtood ἐπὶ πεύκῃ, I ſuppoſe is, becauſe they are the inſtruments of generation, and in that oath, if he were not true, he wiſhed an extirpation of his houſe, himſelf, and his poſterity. In which if he were perjured, he was lyable to no puniſhment, as among the Romans *l Juris jurandi contempta religio ſatis Deum ultorem habet.* Forſwearing is puniſhed by a revenging God; but if any ſwore falſe by the life of his Prince, he fell under the *Julian* Law, *Læſæ Majeſtatis.* After this the Priſoner ſwore, which among us will not be allowed. Then ſetting each of them upon *a* two ſilver ſtones, one of which was named λίθος ὕβρεως, the ſtone of injury, the other ἀναιδείας, by *Adrian Junius* thought ἀναιδείας of innocence, not impudence. Then the appealer asked the priſoner three queſtions, which *b Æſchylus* calls τρία πυνθάσματα. Firſt, whether he were guilty or no, *c* εἰ πεποίηκας; to which he anſwered, οὐκ ἐγὼ or οὐκ ἔγωγε, yea or nay: ſecondly, διὰ τί ἐποίησας; for what reaſon he did the murther? Thirdly, ὑπὸ τίνων συμβούλων; who were the Abbettors? Then aroſe there certain Lawyers, ἐξηγηταὶ, who ſhewed whether the Murther was committed *d* δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως, in juſtice. (*e* For in *Athens* there were ſuch Councellours, to whom in matters of difficulty they had reſort) By δικαίως, you muſt underſtand thoſe cauſes, in which *f Draco* thought it lawful to kill a man. As taking him committing uncleaneſs with wife, mother, ſiſter, daughter, or concubine, or any whom he

g Pollux loco laudato. Dem. cont. Ariſt. pag. 413.
h Pauſanias Lacon. p. 113
i Idem Meſſaniacis. p. 226.
k Demoſt. p. 608. & 418. *Theſe agreed, ſayes* Pollard, *about the puniſhment, according to the dammage received.* De Athen. Magiſt. pag. 449.
l Lib. 2. C. de reb. cred.

a Paul. Attic. pag. 27.

b Eumenid. pag. 292.
c Ibidem.

d Æſchylus pag. 293.
e Demoſt. vid pag. 647.
f Demoſt. pag. 312.

he accounts among his children; the party so offending might be slain in the manner by him, against whom he had trespassed. Likewise, in the defence of a mans goods, if the theef were killed, impunity was granted. After this inquisition they passed to sentence, which was given very privily as *Juvenal* intimates, *Ergo occulta tegent, ut Curia Martia Athenis*; without speaking (is the *Tabellaræ sententiæ* of the *Romans*, in which they wrote C. if they condemned A. if absolved N.L. if the case were not manifest) hence Ἀφωνότερος σιγαλέος, for one that is close and silent; and Ἀφωνότης, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, and in whose countenance is *g tristis severitas* ἐν σκυθρωποῖς καὶ συνεσταλμένοις καὶ σεμνοῖς. Whatsoever they concluded of, stood irrecoverable, neither *h* could there be any appeal to another Tribunal. And no marvel. For so upright was their sentence, *i* that none, either Appellant or Prisoner, could ever say, that he was unjustly condemned. Nay both parties, as well those that are cast, as they that cast, are alike contented. *k* ἀνάδικοι σίγγυοι ἀμφότεροι τοῖς κεκριμένοις. After doom the prisoner was to suffer death. In which Execution also the *Areopagites* had a care lest the innocent should be punished with the guilty. *l* When therefore they had condemned a woman for poysoning another, they deferred the Execution, because she was great with child, and straight way after her delivery put the mother to death. Which custome is by us also observed at our Assises. *m* It will not be amiss to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconsul of *Asia*, who, when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband & son, who had deprived her of a hopefull youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commaded the woman and her accuser to appear some hundred years after, that by such a bottome of time, scarce able to be unwinded, they might shew, that they would neither condemn nor acquit the woman. One thing more *a Quintil*, tels us, that they *condemned* a boy for

Vide Demosth. contra *Arist.*

Vide Sylvium in Orat. pro Flacco.

g Terentius.

h Ἡ τούτων κρίσις ἦν ἀστόμωτος ἐν τῷ κατὰ δίκην ἀγῶνι. Pachimerius.

i Dem. con. *Aristocrat.* p. 413.

k Aristid. Tom. 2. p. 185.

l Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 5. c. 13.

m Valer. Max. p. 322.

a Lib. quinto.

for putting out the eyes of Quailes. Because it was a sign of a mind, likely to prove most pernitious. Their power was shaken, and somewhat plucke down by *b Ephialtes*, a sore enemy of *Oligarchical* Government, and more inclining to the people, who was secretly slain by *c Aristodicus* of *Tanagra*. They sate three dayes every Month, πρὸ τριῶν ἱσταμένου, πρὸ ἑνὸς, καὶ νέας.

b Plutarch. vit. p. 355. & Mor. 361.
c Plut. in Pericle. p. 113.

CAP. III. SECT. III.

De Judicio ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

After the Siege of *Troy*, some of the Grecians came with *Diomedes*, *d* who kept the *Palladium*, to the coast of *Attica*, and arriving by night at *Phalerum*, supposing it to be an enemy country, went to make a prey. Where *Demophon* ignorant that they were Grecians, came to aid and defend his own, and slew many of the *Argivi*: which they cast out unburied, whose bodies when no beasts had toucht (ὑπὸ θηρίων ἀνάρπαστοι ζῴων *Pollux* sayes, the Interpreter, *nullus vivus*, I better think it no creature either Foul or Beast) *Acamas* shewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*; Being warned then by the Oracle (who named them Ἀγνῶτας, that is, *f* neither knowing nor known) they buried them; and in that place consecrated the *Palladium*; where they made also a judicatory for murthers unwillingly committed, and called it * Ἐπὶ παλλαδίῳ, *juxta Palladium*, as some. Here was *Demophon* first tried, who returned from the battail, killed with his horse, somewhat diverting, an *Athenian*; *g* For whose kinred some think he satisfied the Law, or generally for the *Argivi*. *h* If any had striken a man or woman, and the party chanced to die, he was judged in this Court. *i* In such cases the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was not punished with perpetuall exile; ἀειφυγία, as in wilfull Felony; (kept by us in *England* once, called *Abjuration*

d Dictys Cretensis de bello Trojano. l. 5. p. 140.
e Libro octavo p. 406.
f Schol. Sop. in Oed. Tyr.
* *It is simply so called* Palladium Ælian Var. l. 5. c. 15. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ ἀκούειν τὸ παλλαδίῳ.
g Paus. Attic. p. 27.
h Dem. contra Nearam. pag. 727. vid. p. 647.
i Dem. p. 329.

(where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would never return) but he did ἐξίεναι in a gentler term. *f* For it was a custome of old, to give a certain summe of money (the *Attick Law* χρήματα ἐτίμα, in wilfull all was confiscate) to the kinred of the slain that they might not depart their country: but if they could not purchase an aboat, they went somewhere else. *m* Ovid. *Cede puer sacrâ Patroclus Opunta reliquit.* Their discontinuance was but for one year. ἄλλως ἡ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκτὸς ἦν ὅρων. The money disbursed on such occasions was properly called ποινὴ, *quasi* πονὴ, from πόνος murther, as if it were the price of blood. And the Scholiast on *Sophocles* tells us that ποινὴ is spoken only ἐπὶ κακοῦργον χρημάτων of payment of money, but abusively of any punishment. *n* If the party wounded had forgiven the offender before his death, or the allies of the man desperately hurt, none could afterwards compell him to flee; otherwise he fled. And in the flight, he betook himselfe to some acquaintance, by whom he was cleansed from the guilt with certaine ceremonies of washing, which the Romans call *Februa*. So was *Patroclus*, *Peleus*, *Medea*, *Alcmeon* purified. *b* Ovid.

Græcia principium mortis fuit: illa nocentes
Impia lustratos ponere facta putat.
Accipiam Peleus ipsum quoque Pelea Phœbi
Cæde per Æmoniæ salvit Acastus aquas.
Vectam frenatis per inane draconibus Ægeu
Credulum immeritæ Phasida fovit opis.
Amphiaraïades Naupactæo Acheloo
Solve reos dixit, solvit: Apelle reos.
Ad primum facilis, qui tristia crimina cædis
Flumineæ tolli posse putavit aquâ.

In this ceremony they did also sacrifice, saies *c* Dionysius, which custome likewise was observed by the *d* Trœzenians in the lustration of *Orestes* from the blood of his Mother; which I gather by the feast which they presently celebrated there

f Demosthenes, Midiana. *l* Eust. in Il. l. Ἔδος πολλαὶ λῶφον ἀνδρὸς ἐπέβησαν &c. *m* De Ponto l. 1. Eleg. 4. *n* Eustath. but Demosthen. ἐὰν αἱ ἀλλήλων τινὲς τῶν ἐν χείρι τῷ πατάξαντι, *unless he be obtained remission from some of the kinred of the slain.* *a* Demosth. *b* Fastorum 2. initio.

c Καὶ Ἀεσχύλ. p. 414. *d* Pausan. Corinth. p. 75. Καθαρσίοις δὲ χρῆσθαι Ὀρέστην καθαιρόμενον τῆς ἀλάστορος, &c.

there, and yearly observed afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read taken out of the well *Hippocrene*, made by the foot of *Pegasus*; the sprinkling was with a little bough of Lawrel, as I suppose (by the words following perswaded to it, which tell us, that when the ὀστᾶ were buried, there sprouted out of them a Bay-tree) & after that καθαίρειν, δῦναι, & ἐξαγιάζειν. This, as I said, was in his flight, κατιόντ' ἔξωθεν ἐξ ἀναβάσεως τοιαύτης τινός. The proceeding in this Court, was first, διωμοσία, such as before I mentioned, an oath of each party, accuser and defendant: secondly, λόγοι, their speeches on both sides: thirdly, γνῶσις δικαστῶν, Judgement. If the prisoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly to have murthered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he should flee, as above said, until he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Cousins of the deceased.

CAP. III. SECT. IV.

De Judiciis in Διαφορίῳ. Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Φρεάτοις.

AT Athens there was a Temple erected by *c Ægeus* (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honor of *Apollo Delphinius* and *Diana Delphinia*, *a* where was the Tribunal named ἐν Διαφορίῳ or ἐπὶ Διαφορίῳ δικάζειν. * In this Judicatory were heard cases of murther, when the party confessed the fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. *b* For the Law required no punishment of any man that should kill another taking him committing adultery with his Wife, or uncleanness with his Mother, Sister, Daughter, Concubine, or free Children. Likewise if in preservation of his goods or own defence he spilt blood, it was not capital. The first that was arraigned here was *Theseus*, maintaining the right he had to slay the Theeves, saies *c Pollux*, (I know not whether he mean *Sciron* and *Procrustes* &c.) and *Pallas* with his children who were Rebels. Before this trial of *Theseus*, whosoever

c Plutarch. pag. 4. l. 19.
a Schol. Arist. pag. 233.
* Ælian. Var. l. 5. c. 11.
b Demosth. contra Arist. p. 410, 411.
c Lib. 8. pag. 406.
d Pausan. Att. p. 27.

soever had slain any body was compelled to flee the Country, or slaying die, were the cause never so just. Ἐν Πρυτανείῳ, Here they sate on things inanimate. As if a stone, timber, iron, or such like fall on a man, and kill him, if the party that flung this be not known, sentence was past on that thing which slew him; and the *f* θεσμοθέται, that were the Masters of this Court, were to see this thing cast out of the Territories of *Athens*, to which *g* *Æschines* alludes. Τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους, καὶ τὰ σίδηρα καὶ ἄψυχα, καὶ ἀγνώμονα ὄντα τινὰ ἐμπεσόντα ἐκ τοιούτου ὑπερεῖζουσιν. The first thing that here was judged was an Axe, wherewith the Priest whom they call Βουτύπος, had slain an Oxe on the altar of *Jupiter Poliew* in the time of *Erechtheus*. Ἐν Φρεάττοι. In that part of *Piræum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name Φρεάττους from *Phreattus* an *Heros*, some think; not because it stood in a pit, whence *h* *Pollux* names it ἐκ φρεάτου. Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwilfull murther μήτε ἅλῳ ἐκβαλόντων αὐτὸν ἀποφεύγοντα, they that drove him out not acquitting him, if in the space of this exile it happened that he wittingly slew another he answered here. The proceeding was in this sort. The Judges assembled ἐν φρεάττοι, in a place seated on the Sea, *k* πλοῖον ὑπεναλίσκοντος ὑποδεδεμένον, where the *guilty* drawing near in a *boat* or *bark* was to make his apology, ἐὰν γῆι μὴ ἅψηται not coming to *land* or touching it, neither casting anchor *l* or mooring his bark; and if he were found guilty he underwent deserved punishment; if he were not found guilty they cleared him of that fact, not discharging him of the former *m* πλὴν ἐγὼ γε οὐκ ἐπαινῶ τὴν τοιαύτην ψῆφον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ γοῦν ὑπόκειμαι. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are in this, that if he were cast in this tryal, he was exposed to the cruel mercy of the wind and waves. These last quoted words seem to contradict it. The first that ever answered here was *Teucer*, proving himself to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*: *a* whom they treacherously circumvented because he defended not his father *Telamon*, drove out of *Salamis*

f Pollux loco citato.

g Contra Ctesiph. p. 103.

h Lib. octav. 406.

i Demosth. contra Aristo. 415.

k Demosth. *l* Rodolphus Gualter. *aut of* Pollux *interprets it* Scalam terræ injicientem; *putting down a ladder; the Greek* κατάβασιν.

m Demosth.

a Dictys Cretensis de bello Trojano. *l.* 6. p. 145.

Salamis, unto which that he might be reſtored he made appeal to this Court. Which gives light to *b Ariſtotle* Ὅτι τοῖς φύσιν φεύγουσι, ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἀπαιτοῦσι οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι ἐν τῷ ἐν ὀρφανοῖς δικαστηρίῳ. Judicatories concerning men flying for murther, that care for their bringing back again, ſuch as in *Athens*, τὸ ἐν ὀρφανοῖς, When the party proſecuting will not admit of reconciliation. b Politic. 4. c. 17

CAP. III. SECT. V.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παράβυστον. Τείγωνον. Βαπτιχίων. Φοινικῶν. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ, Μετίχου δικαστήριον. Ἐν Ἀρδηττῷ. Διομηδεῖ.

BEſides theſe Courts of blood and cauſes criminal, there were for civil matters theſe *Heliea*, of which before for the excellency of it I treated. παράβυστον. Of this name there are two ἡλιαστήριον μεῖζον καὶ μέσον, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters, ſaies *Petit*, that exceeded not one drachm, to which *c Ariſtotle* might be thought to look, ſpeaking of Judicatories, περὶ τῶν μικρῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ἕως δραχμιαίων &c. And this was the meaning of *d Pauſanias*, Ἐν ἐλαχίστοις συνιόντων εἰς αὐτό. Suing here for the leaſt occaſions The *Undecimviri* were Judges of the Court which made *Petit* to ſuppoſe that it was not to be reckoned among the δίκαι δικαστικαί, It ſtood *e* ἐν ἀφανεῖ τόπῳ, in an obſcure place of the City, whence ἐν παραβύστῳ, in *f Demoſthenes*, is by *Ulpian* expounded privily by a *Metaphor* taken from the ſituation of the Judicatory, or, παραβαλλομένων τῶν ἐν ταῖς οἰκοφθορίαις ὑδάτων, ἐκ μέρους τῆς φατνώσεως, from goods ſecretly hidden. Ἐν παραβύστῳ, ἀπὸ τοῦ κρύβδην. Τείγωνον, from the form of it, which ſeems to have been triangular. Βαπτιχίων and Φοινικῶν, from the colours that were painted *g* ἐπὶ τῷ στηλίνῳ ἐπίζῴδι upon the poſt of the entry, anſwerable to which there was a ſtaff given to the Judges, that they c Polit. lib. 4. c. 17.

d Articis. p. 17 l. 13.

e Pauſanias ibidem.

f Pag. 450.

g Ariſtoteles Athen. Rep. apud Ariſt. Sch. pag. 31.

they might know in what Court to sit. For they presently went to that Court which had the same colour with their staff. Τὸ ὁμώνυμον, from the statue of *Lycus* an *Heros*, which was there set up, having the face of a wolf, where likewise the statue of *Juno* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every Court, hence *b* λύκα δικάζει, *Lycidem*, for sycophants & such as corrupt judgement, because that such persons were very frequent and busie there; And so think I *Pollux* is to be read, *a* πάλαι γ συνήσαν οἱ συνδικάζοντες τὰ δικαστήρια (understand πρὸς ὃν or the like) at which they who bribed the Judicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture, ἔνθα οἱ συμβολεύοντες ἐν ἀκροάσει τῇ δίκα γεγενῆσθαι ἀνεκρίνοντο. The *b* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple near the Judicatory, where the Judges divided their money for pay, three oboli to each a day. *c* Μητίχου δικαστήριον. This was a great Judicatory; so named from *Metichus* an artificer which built it. Here, who had passed thirty years of his age, and was well and Nobly descended, and owed nothing to the publick Treasury, might be chosen Judge. For of such they all consisted, Ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Some have falsely supposed that there was a Tribunal so called: neither did *d Meursius* think otherwise when he translated these words, of *e Pollux*, *in Ardettum Tribunal*, *apud tribunal Ardettum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the transcriber, for the place is thus to be read, ὄμνυον ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ. The Judicatories were wont to take Oath or be sworn in *Ardettus*. *Ardettus* is a place neer the River *Iliissus*, so named from *Ardettus* a Peer, who swore the people, being in sedition and mutinie to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is most probable, the Judges took oath (I cannot justly say presently after their election) to give sentence according to the Laws, and concerning things to which no Laws were enacted, in equity and justice, *f* by *Apollo Patrius*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologist affirms, speaking of *Ardettus*, *g* Ἐν τούτῳ

b Zenobius.

a Lib. octavo p. 406. *The place is extreamly corrupted, as you may perceive by the false Greek.*

b Vesp. p. 457.

c Pollux. l. 8.

d Athen. Att. l. 2. c. 12. p. 324.

e Lib. 8. pag. 406.

f Ἀπόλλω Πατρῷον, καὶ Δήμητραν, καὶ Διὰ Βασιλέα.

g Etym. mag. p. 147.

τῶν δὲ χρόνον ἄρχειν οἱ δικασταὶ ὀμνύασιν ἴσον. The Judges in this place took their Oath touching the discharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients such as would presently swear, were called *b Ardetti*, proverbially, as also those who were perjurious and forsworne. Καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμνύειν. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories in number tenne. For Murther, *Areopagus*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytanum*, and *Phreattys*. For other matters *Heliæa*, *Trigonum*, *Parabystum* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Metrichi forum*, & *ad Lyceum*, where the Δικασταὶ were wont to sit, sayes *k Possardus*, of whom, because *l Emmius* numbers them among *Judicia quatuor præcipua*, the four chief Courts, I will now speak. But of every Tribe were chosen *m* forty four men, *n* above threescore years old, who judged in severall Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refused to sit according to his lot, he was deprived of the priviledges of an *Athenian* Citizen. *o* In former time there came no controversie into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands; (if it exceeded tenne drachmes; Although *p Ulpian* tells us that they determined of petty businesses) but that seems to be, ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ, holy matters, if *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under their Jurisdiction. Whatever the Διαιτηταὶ κατὰ νόμον judged, if the Plaintiff and Defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might referre it to the Senate (as appears out of the *q* Argument of *Demosth. Orat. contra Callippum*, & *r Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot, as they gave them on what side soever, for the Plaintiff by themselves, and for the Defendant by themselves. *s* When they were appointed for the hearing of a case, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time, if neither, or but one was present, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the suit, and wrote the accusation, with the fine which

b Casaub. Theoph. Char. p. 178.
i Etym. Mag. loco laudato.
k De Mag. Athen. p. 540.
l Descrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.
m Ulpian. in Dem. p. 342.
n Pollux l. 8. p. 407.
o Pollux ib.
p Demosth. locu citato.
q Pag. 678.
r Lib. 8. p. 407.
s Vide Dem. Midian, &c. Ulpian in illum. p. 344.

which was required for dammages, they received as a fee from the Plaintiff one drachme which they called τ Δικασικὸν, as alſo another from the Defendant, when they gave him his oath. Their office was but annual, And becauſe they would pervert juſtice, (as *u Demoſthenes* is witneſſe, * although they were not to judge before they had ſworn) give ſentences according to favour, envy, or for gain, therefore *x* at the years end made they an account of their function upon the laſt day of *y Thargilion*, on which it was lawful for any to ſpeak what he could object againſt them; and if any were faulty, they were ἄτιμοι. Thus much of the Δικασταὶ Κατὰ δῆμοι. There were other Δικασταὶ likewiſe, ſuch as our Civilians call *Arbitri compromiſſarii*: and we in the Engliſh *Arbitrators*: whom two parties choſe with reſolution to ſtand to their determination, whether in matter of debt, covenant, or other controverſie whatſoever: ſuch by the *Attick* Law any might requeſt, but with neceſſity of abiding at their judgment. *z* For they could not appeal from them to any other Court. To refer matters to their arbitrement the *Greeks* term Διαίτων αἱρεῖσθαι. And it will not be ſuperfluous here to relate the ſtory of *Bunas* an *Athenian*, whom when the *Eleï* and *Calydonii* had choſen Arbitrator in a difference after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the ſentence until at laſt he died. Whence grew to a proverb, *a* Βίωνα δικάζειν, *Bunas judicat*, Bunas judgeth, of thoſe that defer to paſſe ſentence, and hold a caſe long in ſuſpence.

τ Pollux 8. c. 10. p 408.

u Orat. in Bœotum pro dote.
* Idem pag. 682. n. 41.
x Ulpian loco laudato p. 342.
y Petit. Miſcel. l. 8. p. 212.

z Vide legem apud Dem. p. 344.

a Zenobius.

CAP. IV.

De Nominibus Judicialibus.

HAving thus treated of the *Attick* Courts, it follows that I ſpeak of the Terms of Law, Writs, Accuſations. Theſe were of two ſorts, private and publick. The publique were properly termed Κοιναὶ, ſaies *b Emminius*. Of

b Deſcrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.

Many

Κατηγορία: there were divers sorts. *Γραφὴ, εἰσαγγελία, ἔνδειξις, ἀπογραφὴ, φάσις, ἀπαγωγὴ, ἀπόφασις, ἐνδεικτικὴ δίκη, ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιτροπῆς, ἀστρατείας, ἀφορμῆς, ἀποστασίου, ἐξούλης, ἐπιδικασίας, ἐπιτροπῆς, ἐπιτιμήσεως*, of any trespasse against the Law, by which the Statutes of the Commonwealth are violated; and most properly, *a* quoth he, elsewhere, it signifies an accusation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the same which in English we call a *c* Writ of Right, in Latine *Actio* or *Formula*, as in *f Sueton. Injuriarum formulam intendere*, to serve a man with a Writ. *g εἴσαγε* is a kind of an information made against any for abuses in the Mines, or Custome houses, for converting Tribute money to a mans own use, or the like. Which offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with the names of the accuser and accused, and the fine which the parties convinced should undergoe, to be paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if the informer had not the fifth part of the suffrages, he was to lay down the sixt part of the fine, which the *b* Orators call *ἐπωβελίαν*, from *ὀβελὸς*, because it signifies the sixt part of a Drachme. At the end of the accusation, the informer was to subscribe the names of the witnesses that were present. In general, all discoveries of private injuries are called *κλῆσις*; which in Latine you may name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth part of the forfeit, whence they are stiled *Quadruplatores*; but among the *Athenians* not so, if *i Pollux* say right, *ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ τέταρτον μέρος τοῦ ἀποτιμήματος· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐνδείξας ἢ εἰσαγγείλας ἔλαβε τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἡ δὲ ἐπιβολὴ τῷ ἀδικηθέντι ἐγίγνετο*, the amercement fell to the person injured, although another accused for him. If the fine were written down a thousand Drachmes, & the Accuser had not the fift part of the voices, he paid two hundred and one Drachme: if it exceeded a thousand, four hundred and one. *Ἔνδειξις* is a Writ against those that owe to the City Treasury, and yet go about to bear office, saies *k Ulpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The *l* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* takes it for the accusing of any that did amiss in publick affairs, and the *m* Interpreter of *Demosthenes* in another place, *ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδικεῖν*

a In Dem. pro Corona. p. 499.
b Orat. contra Lept. 96.
c Sir T. Smith Com. wealth of Eng. l. 2. c. 10.
f In Vitellio.
g Pollux l. 8. p. 387.
i Demosth. cont. Cariel. 699. n. 6.
cont. Everg. Mnesib. p. 646. n. 90.
cont. Steph. A. p. 2. n. 9. cont. Onetor. p. 528. n. 19.
cont. Apho. C. p. 508. m. 97.
k Onomast. l. 8. c. 6. p. 387.
l Demosth. p. 391.
l In Equit. p. 303.
m Pag. 469.

for men disfranchised. But [n] *Pollux* teacheth us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* against one taken in the manner, which the *Greeks* termed [o] ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, *Pollux* expresses by διομολογίαν ἀδικήματος, when the offence is confessed. Because men so apprehended were forced to condemn themselves; no further evidence required then from their own mouths. By which acknowledgment of their guiltiness, without greater trial, they received their doom; [p] as among us when a prisoner arraigned, confesses his Indictment to be true, no twelve men go upon him: there resteth but the Judges sentence of the pain of death. Whence grew our Proverb, Confess and be Hanged. [q] *Pollux* ὁμολογεῖν ἀδικήματος, ἢ κρίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι. He that thus made his declaration, was to subscribe his name, that if he were false, he might be liable to the Writ, ψευδοκατηγορίων. The declaration was against men who were not present. Ἀπαγωγὴ, is a carrying of a man before the Magistrate, being taken in the fact, whom otherwise he was to accuse by declaration in his absence. By which a thousand Drachmes were endangered. In this ἀπαγωγὴ, they brought not all offenders to the same Magistrates, but according as they were made Judges of such and such offences; [r] sometimes to the eleven, sometimes to the [s] *Thesmothetæ*, sometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publique Treasury, or bound for those places or Countries where it was not permitted for him to go, or one who had committed Murther, if by reason of weakness he durst not venture to apprehend the person, and ἀφιέναι, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the house where such a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers term ἀπαγωγὴν ἀνδροφόνου, it is when a fellon hath committed murther, and flies for succour to any, (as the Law suffered any to receive him) if the kinred of the slain or others had requir'd the *Malefactor* to be delivered to the, and the Protector would not, it was lawful to enter into his house, and carry away any three persons, as some translate it, or

[n] Onom. l. 8. p. 388.
[o] In Steph. v. ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ. Schol. Nazian. in' αὐτοφώρου.
[p] Sir T. Smith Common W. of Engl. l. 2. c. 26. p. 281.
[q] Locc laud.
[r] Ulp. in Dem. p. 389.
[s] Idem. p. 497.
[t] Dem. p. 416.

or all save there, ἀγχιστεῖς, as others, who were to answer for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly, was not to escape unpunished. Εἰσαγγελία, saies [a] *Ulpian*, is an accusation concerning great and publick matters, such as [x] elsewhere he speaks of, to wit the dissolution of the *Democratie*, or if an Orator had spoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publick, if any went to Warrs before they were sent, or betray'd a Garrison, army, or fleet. In other accusations, if the accuser had not the fift part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand Drachmes, and lost the priviledges of a Citizen, in this he was uncontrolable. But in after time, because men would accuse presently for none, or small offences, therefore was there a Law enacted, that whosoever accused by εἰσαγγελία, and had not the fift part of voices on his side, was fined a thousand Drachms, although he lost not the priviledges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes, but was only by bare word of mouth, and as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called Εἰσαγγελτικὸς. The Senate was *Judge* (*Pollux* saies that *Solon* made a thousand to sit on this, and *Plutarch* 1500. where the Interpreter errs; for τῶν ἑνακοσίων is 500 to them, as καὶ τριῶν in *Demosthenes*, and somewhat more, & whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined, but if the offence were heinous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publick actions, private were these that follow, more properly called *Lites*.

a Idem cont. Arist. p. 41.
b In Dem. p. 58.
x Eund. p. 453.

Δίκη κ'. is an Action against a man, who, when two shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which the [y] Greeks call ἀρξὶ πλαγῶν ἄδικον. [z] The matter was heard before the Judges & though the Law ordained not any set summe of money for dammages yet it was permitted for the party smitten to write down what he thought fitting. [a] The reason why these actions were so strictly looked into, was least any not able to defend himself with his hands, should seek to revenge himself with stones, or other hurtful weapon,

y Dem. p. 410 vide Ulp. ib. & Arg. Orat. cont. Everg. p. 637.
z Sch. Arist. Conc. p. 745
a Dem. cont. Con. p. 690.

b Idem. ibid.

b Καλλιγραφίας δ. Somewhat neer our proviso of giving the lye, leſt by taunting and reproachful words, men be provoked to blows. Βλάβης δ. Is when an any man receives dammage and hurt in eſtate by another man. *c* As to turn water into his ground, by which it is anoyed; *d* To refuſe to pay money where it is required, or to give it to another; *e* To promiſe to bear witneſs in a ſuit, and then not be preſent, by which the caſe fals, & the like. Παρακαταβολῆς δ. About pawns, I ſuppoſe, which men that needed money were wont to leave with the uſurers, as cloaths, houſhold-ſtuff, &c. Or about money put to the *banck*, which the exchangers did imploy to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of *g* *Demoſthenes*. The word imports both. Ἀποστασίου δ. Of divorce. *h* For they were wont to put away their wives, in former time, upon diſcontent or hope of greater portions, which divorce they called ἀποστάσιον, & as *Lyſias* ἀπολείπειν on the husbands ſide, and on the wives ἀπολείπεσθαι, for he did as it were turn her away, ſhe was ſaid to forſake him. Κακώσεως δ. Of ill uſage of Parents as not relieving them if they were poor. Of wives againſt husbands, of Pupils againſt Tutors. Κλοπῆς of theft, after what manner ſoever, Which if it were by day, was not capital, but by night was deadly. Χρέως δ. Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by *i* Law provided in *Athens* that none ſhould take too much uſe, although once allowed by *Solon*, that any might make the beſt of his money: which he termes *k* τόκον ἀργύριον. Of Uſury I ſhall ſpeak more in the Chapter of money. Συμβολαίων δ. When men had bargained & would not ſtand to it. *l* *Ariſtotle*. Δίκαι περὶ ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ συμβολαίων.

Συνθήκων ἐπιθέσεως δ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance between Man and Man, or between City and City, concerning free trading, as that of the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*. *Ariſt. Pol.* 3. *cap.* 6 or the like *m* Theſe *Συνθῆκαι* were uſually confirmed by oath to each other. Διαδικασίας δ. *n* a contention

c Arg. Orat. Dem. contra Galliclem.
d Dem. cont. Callip. p. 680. n. 10.
e Dem. cont. Tim. p. 659. n. 25.
f Sch. Ariſto. 137. E.
g Cont. Phor. p. 555. n. 7. 8.

h V. Cujacium. Obſt. l. 6. c. 15.
i *This is reckoned among the Lawes which were made for private men.* Ulp. in Dem. p. 481.
k V. Caſaub. in Theoph. p. 191. Char.
l Ἀποστολ. Poſt. l. 2. cap. 3
m Dem. pag. 651. n. 13.
n Ulp. in Dem. p. 62. & 310.

tion about bearing office, in which they ſeek to have a time appointed, when a man ſhall enter into it. For the diſcharge whereof they are to prove him fit. Ἐπιδικασία. δ. When parents died & left their daughters inheritrices, the kinred was wont to ſue each other, to make it appear who was neareſt joyned in blood, that he might marry her. Hence a virgin to whom an inheritance falls is called ἐπίδικος, that is, *Controverſa.* Μισθώσεως δίκη δ. About letting of Houſes (For *Herodotus* terms that ἐκδίδοναι, which other Greek writers μισθοῦν, it is as well to ſet to hire, as to take to rent, ἀμισθεῖν and ἐκμισθοῦν to let out. Which they often did for want of Money, which that they might obtein the quicker, they wrote over their dore as we uſe to do, This Houſe is fob to Let. Which Cuſtom *Menedemus* in *p Terence* expreſſes— *Inſcripſi illico,* ÆDES MERCEDE) This Writ was properly againſt Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, ſuch as immediatly is before ſpoken) who having the charge upon them of tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore made known to the *Archon* that ſuch a houſe was to be let, he then put it out upon ſome pledge for ſecurity. But if the houſe were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was ſuffered to remain void of a Tenant, to the loſs of the Pupil, then was it lawful for any man to ſue the Guardian in the *Archons* court, upon a Writ of Μισθώσεως δίκη. Ἐπιτροπῆς. I have obſerved it to have been a cuſtom among the Ancients, when they perceived themſelves to draw neer to death, to call for ſome one, to whoſe care they would commit their children, & delivering them into their hands, beſeech them to have a tender eye over them, & to provide for them what ſhould be moſt conveni ent, ſuch as *Oedipus* in *q Sophocles* entreats of *Theſeus* in behalf of his daughters. — Ὦ φίλον κάρα Δὸς μοι χερὸς σῆς πίστ' ἀρχαίων τέκνων, Τιμᾶς τι παῖδας τῇ Ἐμῇ κατάπτυστον Μίσος προδώσων τὰς δ' ἐσῶν, τι χρὴ λέγειν; ἵν' ἄν Μέλλῃ φέρειν δ' ξυμφέρον *r* ὠτᾶς ἀεί. Not unlike is that of the *r Comœdian* under

a Pollux. l. 3. c. 3. p. 136.

p Heaut. Act. 1. Sc. 1.

q Oedip. Col. p. 314.

r Ter. Andr. Act. 1. Sc. 5.

the perſon of *Chryſis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*.

Acceſſi: vos ſemota: nos ſoli: incipit:
Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atque ætatem videt:
Nec clam te eſt, quam illi nunc utraque inutilis
Et ad pudicitiam, & ad tutandam rem ſient.
Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingenium tuum,
Per tuam fidem, perque hujus ſolitudinem
Te obteſtor ne abs te hanc ſegreges, non deſeras.
Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco;
Sive hæc te ſolum ſemper fecit maximi,
Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.
Te ibi virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:
Bona noſtra hæc tibi committo, & tua mando fidei.
Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, *mors continua ipſam occupat.*

But among the *Athenians* the uſe was to nominate in their Teſtaments and laſt Wills, whom they would have to be Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they ſhould defraud the Orphans of their patrimonie, or any part thereof, they were ſued with a Writ ἐπιτροπῆς as *f Demoſthenes* did ſue his as ſoon as he came to age. But if the matter were not queſtioned within five years after the Pupil was admitted among the number of men, by the *t* Law, the Guardian could not be taxed. Ἀποστασίου, of a Maſter againſt a Servant ingrateful for his manumiſſion, not doing his duty to his Maſter. Becauſe, as *u Demoſthenes* witneſſes, it was the nature of ſervants once made free, not only to be ingrateful, but alſo to hate their Maſters moſt of all men, as thoſe who had been conſcious to their ſervitude. It was enacted therefore what whoſoever was convicted of ingratitude ſhould again be made a bondſlave. * *Valerius Maximus. Age, quid illud inſtitutum Athenarum, quam memorabile? quod convictus à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis exuitur.* The Romans did not only acquit them of the liberty of the City (which

f Plut. in vita ejus.

t Demoſt. p. 724. l. 22.

u Pag. 465.

* Lib. 2. c. 2. p. 67 D.

(which the *Athenians* gave not) but made them also slaves, which punishment they term x *Maximam capitis diminutionem*. Σίτου. If any man put away his Wife, he was to restore her portion again; if he refused, he was ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἑξαμήνῳ, that is, every month for one pound to pay nine *obols*, which the *Attikes* term y τὸν τόκον τοῦτον, the Revenue of her dowry. The writ whereby he was sued was Σίτου δίκη, for the repayment. z Ἔνοικοι, If any went to Law, as claiming title of an house, he was first to serve him that dwelled in it with a Writ ἐνοικίου, by which he demands his Rent for the time the Defendant had the house, if it were for any parcel of land, there was a Writ ὑφ' οὗ given out, for the provent and fruit thereof; afterwards (in both cases alike) they proceeded to an ἐνοικίου δίκη, in which they claimed right and title to the house or land. Although in all these trials the *defendant* were cast, yet could he keep justly either house or land: but if in a third trial, which they call ἔξωσις, he were overthrown, he was compelled to relinquish his possession. This ἔξωσις also is a Writ against all those that would cast an inhabitant out of his house, it being termed from ἐξώθεω, to throw forth. a It is also a Writ of Execution against any overthrown in the Court, and fined a thousand Drachmes, which at such a day he was to pay, and if he laid it not down upon the naile, there went forth a Writ ἔξωσις, to make enter upon the lands and possessions of him so cast. It is also a Writ against any who will not suffer him, who hath bought any thing of the publick to reap the fruit thereof. Who either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. Εἰς ἀναιρέσεως δίκην. When two had been partners in estates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refused, he might be constrained to it by the Writ. Βιβωνίου, Because the Market place among the *Greeks* was the fittest to cheat & cosen in, as b *Anacharsis* was wont to say, therefore the *Athenians* enacted that none should buy in the Market-place; (to which the *Scythian* wiseman pointed likewise, saying, that they

x Justin. Inst. l. 1. T. 16.

y Demosth. p. 733.

z Dem. p. 655. n. 58.

a Ulpian in Dem. p. 340.

b Apud Laert. pag. 74.

they forbad to ſpeak falſe; and yet did ὁ ὠνούμενος ἀδικεῖν) if any man had bargained for any thing, and another ſued and doubted of the right of it, *c* he might require the ſeller to confirm the lawfulneſſe of the thing ſold, and maintain it againſt all controverſie, otherwiſe the ſeller was liable to βεβαιώσεως δίκη. For although in *Athens* they bought for the moſt part *Græcâ fide*, with ready money, as *d Scaliger*, & *e Caſaubon* truly interpret it, *f Turnebus*, *Repræſentatâ pecuniâ*: yet ſometime gave they Earneſt onely to make the thing ſure, which the Greeks and Latines call *g* ἀρραβῶν, from the *h Hebrew* עֵרָבוֹן. This ſeems to me to have been the hundreth part of the money which was to be paid for the thing bought, as *i Stobæus* out of *Theophraſtus*. Where you may read likewiſe thas it was the cuſtome, when any thing was to be ſold, to bring a note thereof to the Magiſtrate ſome threeſcore daies before. Εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάθεσιν. For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a ſuit in Law, by *k Pollux* his words I may conjecture, goods or money privily taken away. Ἐξαγορὰ δίκη. When any ſhould offer to take another mans ſervant, and make him free againſt the will of the Maſter which the Greek term *l* λυμὰς δικαίους ἀδικαίως ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.

Ἀμφισβήτησις is a ſuit about nearneſs of blood in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without iſſue of his own body. Παραγραφὴ. When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritance of right, as near of blood; or upon ſome other conditions: from παραγράφειν, becauſe he laid down the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he were caſt in Law, he was to pay, if the cauſe were private, ſayes *m Budæus*: but if publick, the fift. Διαμαρτυρία. When any ſhall proteſt that an inheritance doth hang in controverſie, and is ἐπίδικος, as a true heir being ſtill alive, of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Leocharet*. Ἔνοικος. When any ſhall try to falſifie the διαμαρτυρία. Ἀπογραφὴ. When men went to Law about kinred, as to prove themſelves of ſuch and ſuch houſes.

Ἀφορισμὸς

c Pollux l. 8. c. 6. p. 385.

d In Auſon. Lect. l. 2. c. 6.
e In Theoph. Char. p. 312.
f Adverſariorum l. 4. c. 13.
g Don. quod prius datur, ut reliquum reddatur. in Ter. Heaut. Act. 3. Sc. 3.
h Vide Diſque in Baſil. Sel.
i Sermone 42.
k Onomaſt. l. 8. c. 6. p. 384.
l Demoſth. p. 718, n. 29.
m Paud. Prio. p. 100.
n Dem. p. 610. n. 78.

Here followeth the terms promiſcuous, private and publique, which are publique and lawful for any to proſecute.

See Pollux p. 386.

Προξενία 8. All ſtrangers in *Athens* were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons (as my moſt worthy Schoolmaſter, the glory of his time [o] Mr *Matthew Buſt* hath obſerved, whom for honours ſake I name) or elſe they might be queſtioned, and if they were convicted their goods were ſold and put into the City Treaſury. Ἀχαριστία of ingratitude againſt thoſe who ſhewed not themſelves thankfull to thoſe who had well deſerved of them. Ξενία the ſame with ἐγγραφίζεσθαι, when any will reckon himſelfe among the number of Citizens who never had been made free, by which he purchaſed impriſonment, untill ſuch times as there was a Court kept, and then he was ſold. Μαρτυρία when a man is eye-witneſſe of a matter. Ἐπιμαρτυρία, when another witneſſes from the report of him that ſaw it. Ψευδομαρτύριον falſe witneſſe, which to proſecute in Law they term ἐπιδικασίαν ψευδομαρτυρίου. Ἀπομαρτύριον, when one was eye-witneſſe, and promiſed to teſtifie, yet would not appear at the appointed time, which they were wont to compel them to do, which they call κλητῆρα, after which citation the party was to be at Court, or forſwear that he ſaw not the matter, or was not preſent, otherwiſe he was to pay a thouſand drachmes, in which ſumme to be fined the *Attick* Lawyers give the appellation ἐπωβελίζειν. Δώρων ἁλώσεως, When the Judges were corrupted with Bribes, Ἀπαγωγή, againſt thoſe that did corrupt them. Ἀργία of a man convinced of idleneſs, which once taken, *Draco* puniſhed the delinquent with loſs of the City priviledges. *Solon*, not unleſs he were thrice delinquent. Λιποναυτίου, When any of the Mariners ran away from their ſhips. Ἀναυμαχία, When the Mariners that ſtayed in the Ships would not fight, if occaſion required. Ψευδεγγραφῆς, when one would falſly accuſe, there was likewiſe againſt them a Writ ἐπιβολιμαίου. Ψευδεγγραφίου, Againſt thoſe that unjuſtly cite to the Court. Ξενίας when any is accuſed of encroaching into the number of Citizens, and gives gifts to eſcape free. Προδοσίας, when

[o] In Epiſt. Dedic. ſuo Enchiridii Græcæ Grammatices Etonenſi præfixa ad Richar. Cantuarienſem Archiepiſcopum.

any was accused of making a Decree or Law contrary to former statutes. This accusation was called γραφὴ παρανόμων, because the accuser swore that it was against the Lawes, or unjust, or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. Δοκιμασία, was an examination of the Magistrates whether they were fit to govern or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Lust, and Incontinency, whether they had not spent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their Parents, or led a life any otherways blameable, whereupon they were discarded the priviledges of the City, and not suffered to plead, or speak publickly. Εὔθυνα, An account of the publique offices borne, laying out of money, and dispatching Ambassages, made to the Tenne *Logistæ* (For the breach of which went out a Writ, Αλογίων λόγον δοῦναι, *Rationem reddere*) if concerning injuries given to the Judges. Πρόβολαι an accusation against those who are ill-affected toward the Common-wealth, made by the decree of the people, and such as are well willers to the state. Προβολαὶ likewise are accusations against men injurious, ἐξωλείας γραφαὶ and such as are delinquent against their festivals, as the oration of *Demosthenes* against *Midias*. Προμοσία, An oath which the Accuser took that he would justly accuse. *q* Ἀντωμοσία, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. Ἐξωμοσία, an oath of Ambassadors or men chosen for state service, that by reason of sickness they cannot give attendance. They may do it by a proxie, if they please. It is likewise the Oath of one called to witness, wherein he swears that he knowes nothing of the business. Ἀπωμοσία, when others shall swear that pretended weakness, was only a shift to put of the burthen of publique office which the State laid on them. Τιμησία, an accusation of a Law or decree unprofitable, against the motioner, as above said, παραγραφὴ, & παρανομιῶν, when a man shall object a case not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be such and such, & not as it is *exigr:* for a man that runs away from the Army, which is λιποταξίου, and I accuse him

a Lib. Arg. Midiam.
q Ulpian in Dem. 226.

of leaving his ranck, to wit Ἀσυνηξία, or objection of the time past, within which space the suit was to be commenced, or that it should be handled in such a Court, and not in such; as wilfull Murther in *Areopagus*, not *Palladium*: by which evasion if the case fell, it was termed ἀγεγής. Ἀντιγεγραμμένη, when he that is sued puts a Bill against the plaintiff in like manner. But if the defendant (I call ἀντιγεγραμμένον so) were cast; he paid ἐπωβελία. r Μὴ ὄντι, when a man is summoned to answer before the Arbitri of a controversie, if he swear that he is sick, or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was cast in ἐρήμῳ, *Eremodicio*, and if he scorned to come, or were obstinate, he ought within ten daies to sue out μὴ οὔσης, wherein he reproved the sentence and made it of no effect, so as it came to its first state again. But if he could not obtain a μὴ οὔσης, having before sworn that he would stand to the award of the Judges, their determination stood in full strength and power, & he was constrained to pay 1000 drachmes (as *s Ulpian*) which was the mulct appointed by the law; for the discharge whereof he put in good security. Ἀπολαγχάνειν δίκῃ, When any was absent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to answer thereunto, he was fined, as conscious of *Eremodicium*, and if within the space of two Months he did not renew the suit (which is ἀναλαγχάνειν δίκην) he was sure to pay the fine. Ἐπικαλέσασθαι, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, and publickly sold, somewhat as debt to him, or say that part belongs to him, the state would narrowly search into it, which thing they term ἐπίκλημα. Πρόσκλησις, is a citing one before the *Archon* in controversy about the inheritance, or a Virgin left inheretrix. Now if the plaintiff did not warn the defendant ἢ ὑπόδικος ἀφῆκε, the suit dyed, and such actions are called ἀπροσκλήτου δίκαι. t προσκλήσεις, is as letting a case fall, or dissolving it upon some witness, oath or confession extorted by torments, and the like. Ἔφεσις, is appeal from one Court to

r Ulpian in Dem. 334.

s In Dem. p. 340.

t Dem. p. 923

the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate again, or from their Judicatories at home to some forrainers in another country. Ἀτιμητὸν δίκην when there is no more fine laid upon a man than what his adversary did ἔτιμησεν, write down at the lower end of his Inditement, of which custom somewhat hath before been spoken. Βοὸς στέρα, Against such as stole Oxe-dung out of their neighbours lands; whence of those that are put in the Court for trivial matters the Proverb [u] Βοὸς στέρα, Accused of impietie against their Gods as *Aristotle* for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Acharnenses*, which he engraved on a statue at *Delphos*. For revealing mysteries, or imitating them, as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death, as on the contrary the accuser, if he got not the better. Προδοσία, of being false to the state, the punishment was death, and after that, they should be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. * ἀγωγεῖα, If any owed to the City Treasury, and his name were registred, & before the discharge of the money his name were blotted out, they sued him before the *Thesmotheta* ἀγωγεῖα, but if his name was never entered, he was prosecuted by an ἔνδειξις. Μεταλλικὸν proper only to such as dealt in the Mines, like to Stannaries in the County of *Cornwall* my Countrey, and *Devonshire* her sister. [x] Lyable to this Court were they who should thrust any man from his work, who should digge within another mans liberties, who should bring weapons thither, I suppose to take away Minerals by violence, who should kindle any fire in the Mines, &c. Who should offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth, which to do was death, as [y] *Plutarch* tells us. There was likewise ἀγωγὴ κατάλου against the labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new work were to acquaint the overseers appointed for that end by the people, that the four and twentieth part of the new coin might come to the publick Treasury. Now if any presumed

[u] Arist. Sch p. 3. 28. Laert in vit.

* Dem. cont. Theocr. p. 7. 13. n. 76, 77.

[x] Dem. cont. Pantæ. p. 567 n 51, 52.

[y] In vitis Decem Rhet p. 455.

ſumed to work who had not made it known to the officers, it was lawful for any to accuſe him ἀγχίνου παράλλαξις ἀφορμῆς δ'. About money put out to the money-changers. z For ἀφορμὴ among the *Attick*s is the ſame that *uſura* in the Lawyers of latter time, *in Jure Græco, Rom.* Sometimes indeed they uſed ἀφορμὴ for means and ſuſtenance, *a* περιβολὴ εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Καταδίκασον & καταδικασάτω have this difference, that *b* καταδίκασον is the Judge that gives ſentence, καταδικασάτω is he that put in the controverſie, to be the means that the ſentence paſt againſt the defendant. *c* Ἄφεσις is when a man deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to diſcharge all, and therefore deſires the People that a part thereof might be remitted.

z Argum Phorm. Orat. p. 554.

a Sch. Eurip. *b* Med. p. 368. Ulpian in Med. p. 368.

c Idem in Dem. p. 450.

LIB.

LIBER QUARTUS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus, & Amoris.

CAP. I.

De Venere & Cupidine.

THE People of *Athens* had their habitation too near the Sea, to keep their affections far from her that roſe of the *Foam*. For that they were devoted to the ſervice of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein ſhe was courted, and the over favourable name of ἑταίρᾳ will ſufficiently teſtifie. One of thoſe Temples was for *Venus* Οὐρανία a *ſi dîis placet* (a name better becoming one of the Muſes, *b* or the play with the ball, than her: and the other, for *Venus* Πάνδημος, which two names put me in mind of an excellent ſaying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning Καλὸς ἐρώμενον, and Καλὸς πάνδημον. Δύο γὰρ ἐγὼ νομίζω καὶ ἀνθρώπους κάλλη πλανᾶσθαι, Τὸ μὲν ἐρώμενον, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον, ὥσπερ καὶ κάλλη αἱ χορηγοὶ θεαί. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐρώμενον ἄχθεται τῇ θυηλῇ κάλλει δημόσιον, καὶ ζητεῖ πρὸς ἐρασὴν ταχὺ φεύγειν· Τὸ δὲ πάνδημον ἱλαίνεται κάτω, καὶ ἐγχωριάζει περὶ τοῖς σώμασι. A ſaying good enough for a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop ſuch as *Suidas* reporteth him to have been. But *à diverticulo*. The ſacrifices of the firſt Temple, were Ἁγνότεραι, with a little more ſtate and chaſtity than became her; but thoſe of the laſt, ῥᾳδιουργότεραι, as *eaſie*, and as wicked as her ſelf,

a *Pauſanias.*
b ἐφεδρία, a Play ſo called.

ſelf: For every farthing Strumpet, might by *Solon's* own appointment proſtitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the Καταπυγὸς, *e* or the Σκίρον (thoſe Καπηλεῖα Ἀφροδίσια) or any other of the places abuſed to luſt. Nay thoſe *ſinks*, *d* beſides *places* for the purpoſe, that had *garments* alſo for the purpoſe, and flowers on the garments too, Τὰ Ἀνθινὰ, *floridas veſtes*, apparel fit for ſuch *Flora's* as wore them. The Rites of her ſervice the *Athenians* are ſaid to have received from the *Phœnicians*, the *Phœnicians* from the *Cyprians*, the *Cyprians* from the *Aſſyrians*, *Fides penes Authorem ſit.* The faſhion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians* (*viz.*) with a head, and all like a man as far down as the girdle, and all the reſt like a woman (to ſhew ſhe had a place in the *Ditches* too *f* as well as in the *Sinks*, and patroniz'd luſt to either of the Sexes) inſomuch that many have been ſcrupulous whether they ſhould call her *Deum* or *Deam*; for there is one that ſays,

——Pollentemque Deum Venerem. Which *Macrobius* himſelf commends for the beſt, and therefore in *Virgil*, *Æn.* 2. *v.* 632. reads

Diſcedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hoſtes
Expedior---and not *Dea*, and ſo *Ariſtophanes* calls her Ἀφρόδιτον, in the *maſculine gender*. But, now this makes more work, and therefore (to plaiſter two walls with one potfull of plaiſtring) they made it a cuſtom, *ei ſacrificium facere viros cum veſte muliebri, Mulieres cum virili. Quod eadem & Mas, & fœmina æſtimaretur, for the men to ſacrifice to her in womens apparel and women in mens.* If it be ſo, you may ſay *Aphroditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you pleaſe. I read of no ſuch thing concerning *Minerva*: onely the *g* Poet (becauſe ſhe was ſuch a *Virago*) honours the Manhood of the Goddeſs with a τὸ ἀνδρεῖον; as *Theocritus* *h* does *Hecate*, with ὁ ἀνδρεῖος ἐν τελεταῖς an *appellative* of the *maſculine gender*. Nor is it enough that the Mother is thus religiouſly wooed and adored, but the *blind paultry Boy* will be crying for a Temple too. And if

Her

e Pauſanias.

d Cloacæ.

e Cœl. Rhod.

f Inter Socraticos notiſſima foſſa cinœdos Juven. Sat. 2.

g Philochorus, cited by Macrobius.

g Ariſtoph. Act. 5. ſc. 2. *h* In παμμακ. ſ. 5.

Her due be a *Cow*, certainly *His* cannot be leſs that a *Calf*. neither was it.

Ῥέξω πόρτιν ἐγὼ καὶ τοῖν Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτᾳ,

ſayes *Theocritus*: and *Amori Litari* to ſacrifice to *Amor* or *Cupid* is common in *Apuleius*. Methinks he might have been content to ſit ſtill in his Mothers Temple (where he was lovely Pourtraicted by *Zeuxes*, and crowned with flowers) and have ſoard * with his wings no higher. But the Temple of Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of ὑβρίζων, do more than whiſper what cauſe he had to be ſo proud, and how amorous, his People has been.

* *Alatus.*

CAP. II.

De Paderaſtia.

TO omit the Τειβάδας and the Abominations of the Women one with another, changing τὴν φυσικὴν i χρῆσιν, εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν the natural uſe into that which is againſt nature, give me leave to ſpeak a little of their παιδερασταὶ, or παιδόφθοροι, and the Ἀρρενομανία, k practiſed by Men upon their own Sex. The firſt that ever taught

——*Amorem*
In teneros tranſiſſe mares——

(if we may believe *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholar of his the *Roman* was, *Lippis & Tonſoribus notum*. And for the *Greeks*, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Perſians* deriv'd the infection from them; which I am apt enough to believe, when I read thoſe words of *Cornelius* l *Nepos*, *Laudi in Græcia ducitur adoleſcentulis, quam plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place, and thoſe concerning *Alcibiades* in another. *Inſunt adoleſcentiæ amatus eſt à multis mori Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himſelf afterwards was more than *Pathicus* in that *double Cappa rougery* as well as m *Pauſanias*, or n *Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail* ° *Sectaries*. The *Grecians* (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Ariſtot.* ſay true, made a Law for toleration of it. The ° *Megarenſes* had

i *Ep. ad Rom. c. 1. v. 26. & 1b. v. 27.*

l *Initio lib. de Excell. Imp.*

m *Æmil. Prob.*

n *Plato in Symp.*

o *Athenæus.*

had their *Kissing matches*, when he that could kiss sweetest was led away in pomp *Coronis ornatus*, only thus much is said in commendation of the *Lacedæmonians* & the *Athenians*, that they confined the Lust to the person of a slave. Nay [p] *Ælian* (who makes bold to vary from other authors in several relations) goes farther, and saies [illegible], but how true that is, I know not, I am sure their [illegible] and [illegible], tell in *plain song*, what they loved: though I confess I have found no such feats among them, as that of [q] *Achilles* in Murthering *Trollus* for refusing to submit to his lust. One word more and I have done. He that was inspired with such a love as this, (as if they had used the trick of [r] *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedæmonians* had the name of [illegible] or [illegible] or rather [illegible], as *Callimachus* hath it.

[p] L. 3. *Var. Hist.* c. 12.

[q] *Lycophr.*

[r] *Inque vices fuerat captatus anhelitus oris.*

Μιμβλετο δ' αἰολίδας ἐρεβώδεα κύρεσιν.

By which word (saith the *Etymological Dictionary*) is denoted [illegible] (or rather [illegible]), one *inspired*, shall I say, or *beloved*, for so signifieth the word at *Sparta* (*viz.*) to love a boy so *perdite*, as to *blow in his lower end*, (as we say) to *spit in his mouth*, or give him *Manum ex ore*, take the Authors own words for't in the place above quoted. [illegible], and so *Hesychius* Taith [illegible] too, [illegible]. This was all (as he saies) or (as I say) it ought to have been all; for a man *may look his house well enough, though he do not ride upon the ridge*. However, I must confess they had so much care still of the *Commonwealth*, notwithstanding their *private pleasures*, as not to give a voice to one whom they knew to be guilty of so much *Abolities*, as to *scratch his head with one finger*. Insomuch that if any had sued for an Office to give a testimony of his *virtue* and manlike disposition, he was fain to lift up his arms, and shew his hair in his Arm-pits.

[illegible] Χαιτηφορίαν.

Ἕλκουσι δ' ἐκ τῶν βοστρύχων, saies *Aristophanes*. And good reason for this practice, for

Dare per brachia sese
Protinus, atrectum animum, saies *Persius*. And

f Apud Aristoph. therefore the Woman f that desired to be taken for a Man, though this the best Argument she could use

Whereas on the contrary, those that had the fore-head to *seem*, as they *were*, effeminate, used the same tricks which the *Romani* are said to have used (for which service they had their *Dionysia*, or *allipilavia*) to pull away their hair, and be as smooth as they could.

But I have said too much of so odious a Love, *as should not indeed be named among us*. I will now proceed to speak of a chaster *Venus* (notwithstanding that *Menelaus* in t *Achilles* preferred the former) *Quæ primis rerum exordiis sexuum diversitatem, generatæ amore sociavit*, as u *Apuleius* said in his Prayer.

t Achil. Tat. lib. 2.
u Metam. l. 11.

CAP. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

WHen first they listed themselves into the service (for *Militat omnis amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) some of them made it such a solemn business, as to be formally initiated like so many Priests.

x Achil. l. 2. y Eustath. l. 5. Loco ante laudato.

Ἀν' ὃ τοῦτο ἔσεσθαι μυστήριον, saies *Clitophon* to *Leucippe*. Ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀφροδίτης ὀργιάζουσι, saies *Ismenias* x to his Mistress, alluding (it may be) to such Books as the old Sibyls brought forth to *Apuleius*, y *Liberis ignorabilibus præsentes*.

z Hieroglyphicis.

Well, it seems *Venus* had her z *μυστικὰ* too, as well as *Ceres*, for her Priests, though they were not under an enjoyned silence, as the others were, yet the greatest part of their tatling was under the Rose.

Conscius

Conſcius omnis abeſt: Nutu ſignisque loquuntur. And therefore *Cupid* had not the name of a *Whiſperer*, ψιθυρος, for nothing, ſeeing ſpeaking through the teeth, and *whiſpering* thorow the walls, like *Pyramus* [b] and *Thisbe*, was ſo commonly uſed by his followers. Such as that ὑπαιθρια βοσὶν in *Euripides*, *ſuccrotilla vocula. Feminina fabulari* [c] *ſuccrotilla vocula*, ſaies one. Ἐρασθεὶς τὸ παιδίον χαλεπῶν ἀφέσεως, [d] ſaies another, of *Iſmene*. And not only their words, but every thing they did was by ſtealth; for what were all their pleaſures but *furta*? What is *Cupid* but a *Thief*. No wonder then if Lovers uſed to worſhip the Moon; and the Night be the blind boyes Holy-day. [f] Κακῶν γὰρ ἡ Νὺξ, ſaies one (like that of the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus* δεῖ γὰρ κακοποιοῖς ὁρᾶν ζοφώδη, ἢ νυκτὸς) for the greateſt part of their employments were not able to look upon the Sun. Yet *Pindar* as I take it, ſaies the cuſtom was, for the Man to worſhip the Sun, and the Woman the Moon. It may be the mans aime [g] was to have the Suns help in bringing Adulteries, and the Womans the Moons, in bringing her [h] *Children* to light.

Beſides theſe, Θεὸς ἦν ἐπιτύμβιος [i] *Pan* had his worſhip too. But for any thing I can perceive (though ſome of them it may be, were of *Theocritus* his mind,

—. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς οὐ λογίζεται) whatſoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they took the liberty and looſeneſs in ſuch buſineſſes to *ſwear* an *forſwear*, as faſt as they liſted, whiles *Jupiter* ſtood by and laught —*Perjuria ridet amantûm*. inſomuch that Ἀφροδίτης ὅρκος, a *Love Oath*, became but a proverb at laſt, as being accounted ἀνεπίληπτος, not deſerving puniſhment, if it were taken: nay if *Plato* in *Ephebo* ſay truth, ἐν τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις τοῖς περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ, ἢ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιορκεῖν μυριάκις [k] τοῖς θεοῖς, the Gods gave them leave: as having done *hoc eadem juvenes*, the ſame themſelves once: and none can play the [k] *knave better than an Abbot that hath been a Monk*.

[a] *Ovid. Met. lib. 4 fab. 4.*

[b] *Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 4.*

[c] *Titinius.*

[d] *Euſtath.*

[e] *Theocritus* ſaies he ſtole honycombs. *Id. 20. & Eurip.*

[f] *Venerem cum Marte deprehendit. Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab. 6.*

[h] *Luna parturientibus adeſt*

[i] *Longus in Paſtoral. l. 2.*

[k] *French, Proverb.*

CAP. IV.

De *Amorûm Indiciis.*

NOw to know whether such an one were in Love or not (though they say, *Love and the Cough can never be hid*) at the keeping of a Feast, they took special notice of the *untying of his Garland* (as we use to do of the Garter, making it a fore-runner of that of the *Zona*. But I take too much upon me to determine so soon of the reason, for | *Athenæus* saies it hath been a riddle a thousand years before his time, & propounded at their merry meetings, διὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἐν αἰνίγματι τίθεσθαι, ἐφ' ἑκάστου λέγοντος, and he himself hath served up no less than eight other reasons: but I know never a one better than another to give you a taste. Another signe that they were in love was the *tinkling of the Ear*, whence that of *Sappho*, ξουμβεῦσί σ' ἀμφαίμεν, and *Catullus*,

Sonitu suopte
Tintinant aures. ——

To know whether the party lov'd did love again, they took a leaf (whether of *Poppey*, or what it was I know not) they called it πλάτιλον *quasi* διλάτιλον ἀπὸ τῆ διλάσθαι ἢ πλίαν) and putting it on the forefinger and the thumb of the left hand (as our children use to do with us) struck it with the right. If it gave a crack they rejoyced, if not a sigh, out alas!

1 *Lib.* 15. *Deipnos.*

m *Aristoph. Schol. in Pace.*

n *Id. in Avibus.*

Οὐδὲν τὰ πλάτιλον πρὸς μακρὸν πλατάνῳ, saies *Theocritus Idyll.* 3. So at their Feasts they had a trick, to fasten a long stick in the ground with another upon it (in the fashion of the cross Beam of a Ballance) with a pair of Scales hanging to it. Under the Scales stood a couple of Bowls filled with water, and under the water a statue of Brass, guilded and called by the name of Μάνης (a once the name of a Servant) now the manner was for such as were in Love (with the same woman as I think) and would willingly know their fortune who should carry it, to take each his

his phial of Brass (τὸ κύλικα) to stand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he listed, with a sudden turn of the hand (ἀπὸ συκλίσεως they call it, and thence κύκλωσις ἀγκύλαντος) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown, they called κοττάβους from κόπτω, the *klat* or the sound that it gave in the fall. Now he that could do this so well, as to make his scale sink, and strike the image hardest on the head (οἱ μὲν χυθῆ τῆ ὄψει, so that some of the Wine leapt out upon him, saith the Scholiast) presumed presently upon the love of his Mistriss, and had his κοττάβιον or his Cake (the usual reward of victory in most of their Playes) for his labour, sometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good flash, it was counted as lucky for a Louer, as the *crack of the leaf*. Thus to drink and play, they called κοττακίζειν (as κόττος was the name of the cup and the play too) and seldom a drinking match without it.

Ἐγὼ δὲ κοττακίζειν
Συβαϊζειν
Ἰὼ ἰὼ καταγέλαστα.

Saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* Gambol they are ashamed to own themselves, and therefore turnd it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might speak more of κόττος, were it either fitter for the present discourse, or not spoken of so largely, and by so many, as *Athenæus*, *Rhodiginus*, and others already. Let it suffice only to have minded you of the folly so usual among Lovers in those times according to that of *Callimachus*.

Πολλοὶ τὴν φιλέοντες, ἀνόητον ἦπαρ ἔχοντες,
Οἰνοπότην Σμικλὸν, ἐν αὐλίκοις λάτρευον.

CAP.

CAP. V.

De Philtris & incantamentis.

BUT what if she could not be wooed over by fair means: was there then never an arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a jugling trick to bewitch her? Yes, but first they must get something or other of hers into their possession, and work upon that, according to the Nurses advice to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolytus*.

Euripides Hipp. v. 512.

Δεῖ δ' ὅς ἐσθλὸν τῶν νοθευτῶν
Σαμῶσιν, ἢ λέγουσι πῶλον ὠκὺν
Λαβόντ' ἀνωΐστοις τε δοῦναι μὲν χαλινὸν.

And if they could come to the sight of her, your *illices oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a fascination. ὀφθαλμὸν τινα βάσκανον ἀνεωγόσαν, he threw a *sheeps eye at her* (saith * *Heliodorus*) The Proverb that *Love comes in at the window, and goes out at the Door*, may not absurdly be understood of the *Eyes*, which *Maximus Tyrius* calls θύρας τῆς ψυχῆς, the Doors of the Soul, which seem to be the way and the passage by which the two loves go in and out. ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ἐρώτων εἰσιν, saith *Musæus*: or if you will the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the *heart*. ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀνάπτουσι τὸν ἔρωτα, saith * *Eustathius*, and so * *Lucian* makes the *sight* the first step * in *Cupids* ladder of Love. To try therefore what this card could do, they would go to the house where she lived, and the fashion being for the Daughter οἰνοχοεῖν to fill drink to the Stranger: (as *Sosithenes* commanded his Daughter to do to *Ismenias*) after the old folk had drunk, when it came to their Mistresses to drink to them, they observed at what part of the cup she drank, to be sure to drink at the same, according to that of the * Poet

* Lib. 4.

* Lib. 3.
* *in ἔρωτι.*
* *Oculi sunt in amore duces*

* *Ovid. de Arte Am. l. 1.*

Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis
Pocula; quaque bibit parte Puella, bibe.

Forsooth

Forsoo th they thought thus to have a kiſse *mediatè* at the ſecond hand wafted over in the cup φιλήματα ἐν ποτηρίῳ, *Ariſtænetus* calls it, not to *kiſs the cup*, but *cup the kiſs*.

Nam transmiſſa mihi ad me fert ſuavia labris
Ille Calix.

Saith *Scaliger* tranſlating that verſe,

Πορθμεύει δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ χύλιξ φιλήματα ἐν ποτηρίῳ. Such a kiſs they uſed to call ἀποστειλάτην φίλημα (*miſſivum oſculum*, or a kiſs conveighed in a cup, like words in a Letter) as both *Achilles* and *Euſtathius* do. And by this time they have ſeen whether they can do any thing or nothing by the *eye*. Next they will try what they can do with the Tongue, by *enchanting ſongs and tales*: or by the Hand, with *Gifts*, and *Philtres*: ἐν δὲτοῦ πολλοῦ φίλτρου τε καὶ ἐπῳδοῦ, καὶ ἴυγγος, ſayes *Xenophon*: ἴυγξ more eſpecially is the name of a Bird (whether it be *torquilla*, or *regulus*, or *paſſerculus*; the laſt is moſt likely because of its ſalacity) whoſe tongue they made uſe of to ſuch purpoſes, putting it under the knap of her Ring with the paring of her nails.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for ſuch a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Ecchoe* ſaies *Callimachus*) because ſhe bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the ſame name, and of a making very ſuitable to her former condition, and the uſes for which ſhe ſerves. For (according to the *Scholiaſt* upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck and tongue, continually wagging both the head and the tail; and puniſhed ſhe is enough for her Roguery; for (beſides that way I told you of before) ſometimes they ty'd her ὄμμασι τροχῷ to a wheel (as I think) and chanted a charm as they whirled it round, ſometimes (at leaſt the entrails) to a τροχὸς of wax, cauſing both together to conſume in the fire. But what will you ſay, if all this while it be nothing but an inſtrument pleaſantly run'd and playd? as ſome ſay it is, and that it is therefore commonly

uſed

used for any pleasant thing or inticement. ὑγρὰ λιπαρὰ ἔπη saies * *Pindar*, or any other Magical Love toy, such as *Unguents*, muscels, wreathed fillets, hair, and bands of twisted wool, and divers other gambols of the same brain according to that which I have seen of *Lælius* an ancient Poet.

* *Nem. Od. 4. vid. Theoc. Pharmacen. Lucistrate prope finem.*

Trochiscili, Ungues, tænia
Aureæ, Illibes hirtula.

With no stronger chains than those of *twisted Wool* (* πλεκτὸν ἔριον * *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturn* reported to have been bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him down. I can rather believe that all the Gods had *laneos pedes, woollen feet*, as the proverb saies they had, than that any of them should have *Laneas pedicas, woollen fetters*. And yet that dull and lazie old dotard, could be content to lie fast in those bands all the year long, till the Month *December*, when he had his liberty, because of the *Saturnalia* which *Papinius* therefore cals *Saturni compedem exolutum*: I refer you for the reason to *Macrobius Saturn. l. 1. c. 8.* Though I believe they intended no other than a Magicall tie upon the affection of the party. Yet they seem to have made use of *Wool*, rather than any other thing, because it was so much in fashion in such kind of matters, for first, the girdle the woman used to wear, was made of *wool*, twisted and tyed with an *Hercules*, or a *True-Lovers* knot, not to be untyed but in the *Genial bed*. Then the doors of the Bride-house, and the posts of the doors, were bound about with woollen fillettings, and the Wife was to sit upon a fleece for a Cushion. Yet how they used this πλεκτὸν ἔριον I cannot tell, whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that,

* not στερτὸν, * περὶ πταμ.

* *Theocrit. Pharmacen.* * Στρέψαι τὸν κυάνεον τρισσαῖς περὶ κύκλον ἀύναις.

Or about the Bay which they burnt, or in some other way. But thus much I have observed of their ordinary practises in such Rogueries (too common with the women in these times) that what ever was done to the things which they used

used, they imprecated the same, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to represent. Thus a *Althæa* burnt *Meleager* out in the brand. Thus *Juno* tied up b *Alcmena's* womb, *Digitis inter se pectine junctis*. I know not how. Thus c *Simetha* (to come nearer home) angry with *Delphis* for want of his love, would have scattered his bones in the meal, burnt his flesh in the Bay, melted him away in the Wax, or have had him tumble to her door in the Brazen Bowl, and have killed him with kindness. Every one of which practises was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the *Moon* for successe, as things that were fit to be done neither by *day*, nor *above ground*. Infinite more were the tricks they used to make a man to love them, such as d *Philostratus* speaks of in his *Epistles*, τὸ ἔρωτον ᾧ ἐκεῖς, ᾧ τὸ μαγεῖον, ᾧ οἱ ἔκεῖ μύθοι, καὶ αἱ χῆναι πόθεν, ᾧ Θαλῆς, ᾧ Ἀσκυγόνια, ᾧ Λαΐδι φάρμακα. The ἐκεῖς may be thought to be the *Cerussa*, τὸ μαγεῖον, otherwise μαγεῖον, or μαγεῖδιον, *Multicia*, or *Bombycea*, a kind of ὁ διαφανὴς ῥοῦς, or a garment that hid the body so that it might be seen, *tuceat sic pen Bombycina corpus*, sayes f *Martial*, such Women used in

g *Quæ tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum*
Delicias, & Panniculus bombycinus urit.

It had the name καὶ τὸ ταραντῖνον χιτῶνος ᾧ γοῦν, saith h *Pollux*. Ἐπιγόνια ῥοῦς, are like to be ῥοῦς *Lacerta*, such as she in *Theocritus* would have used in a potion, but I had rather take them for the ῥοῦς worn about the wrists καὶ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας: and the golden fetters I suppose to be stronger than woollen. But besides all these, there was μῆλον ἕλκος, feats to be done by the throwing of an Apple. *Cydonium malum* [unclear] reported to grow in the garden of *Venus*, and used at Weddings (as shall be shewn hereafter.) Thus when *Cydippe* was sitting in the Temple of i *Diana*, *Acontius* threw in the Apple with this Inscription, Μὰ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ὀμνύω γαμεῖν, or if you had rather have the Latine,

Juro tibi sane per mystica sacra Diana,

a *Ovid. Met. lib. 8 fab 4.*
b *Ovid. Met. lib. 9 fab. 5.*
c *Theoc. Pharmac.*
d *Lib. 8. E. 6.*
e *Pollux.*
f *Lib. 8. Ep. 6.*
g *Juvenal. Sat. 6.*
h *lib. 7. c. 17. Petulans, maidumque Tarentum.*
i *Aristæn. lib. 1. Ep. 10.*

Metibi ventorum comitem sponsamque futuram.

And so made her think shee took, when she did but *read* the oath. And thus * *Hippomanes drew back Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples. Nay, if they bit off a peice, and threw it, it was enough: which made *k Philenis*, being jealous of her sister *Thelxinoe* complain of *Pamphilus* his throwing a peice of Apple in her lap. The *l* women of *Thessalie* are especially noted for cunning women at this work, being able (as he sayes) μαγεύειν ὅτου, ὅτι μὴ θεοὺς ἐπίσης ἐν ἀνθρώπου ἀπαλλάττειν γυναῖκα, &c. And so for the women of *Egypt* (I think the sex hath still the Monopoly of Magick) however the *Egyptian* m Souldier came to mistake in the *Dosis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the potion. For instead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her wits, as *Cesonia* did her Husband *Caligula* with an *Hippomanes*. Those φίλτρα, or Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of such herbs as disposed the body to Venerie, such as the σπόγγος (rendered *Pastinaca*) called by way of excellency, τὸ φίλτρον. In ἐκθύμιδι φίλτρα τὰ ἀφροδισιακὰ sayes *Eustathius*. *Plutarch* (if I mistake not) in his *Quæstiones Græcanicæ*, expresses his dislike of these courses. But what? was there never a way to *unwitch* the party again? (for I heard of some that can do this who cannot do the other) yes, either by taking counterfeit Physick (as *Leucippe* did) or by washing it away in the River *Selemnus*, as (*Pausanias* sayes) they used to do in *Achaia*, or else by Sacrifices or Charms, according as they imagined the cause. Whence those words of the * Nurse to *Myrrha* incited by the furies, and not by *Cupid*, to the want-comforts of her own Father.

Ite Barbarici, ritibus quod Carmine sanet,
Magica lustrabere sacra.
Da Deum sive ea, sacris placabimus iram.

m *Cargias apud Tat. l. 4. & Suetonius.*

* *Ovid. Met. l. 10 fab. 11 k. Aristid. lib. 1. ep. 25. l Achil. Tat. l 5. Thessala vendit Philtra. Juvenal.*

* *Ovid. Met. l. 13. fab. 9.*

CAP. VI.

De Usitato more significandi amorem.

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a natural heate (as indeed the Soule is naturally inclined * ἀνομολόγητον ἐστὶ καὶ φυσικὸν τὸ ἐρᾶν) to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care those Grecian Women had of their Sweet-hearts. Insomuch, that if you call to mind some of their choicest expressions thereof (especially that of *Ariadne* to *Theseus*) you cannot but be of * *Plutarchs* mind, in approving the definition given by some of the old Philosophers, who said that it is, ἀνὴρ ἐπιμέλεια μετὰ ὁμιλίας καὶ φιλίας νέου. Not to tell you, that sometimes they sent a wooing to the men, pray take but a taste of their customes in this particular of expressing their love: To trim up their bodies as they did their *own* [a] with flowers (like a *May-maid*) or hang up Garlands at their doors (or τὰ ἰσόμα the parts of the house exposed to sight when the doors were open, ἐκόσμουν ἵνα καὶ πεῖσθῶσιν, sayes *Hesychius*) was an ordinary caresse, though indeed (as [b] *Athenæus* sayes) they intend it chiefly to the honour of Ερως· τῷ μὲν γὰρ θεῷ ἀνάθημα, νέου γὰρ ὄντα τῷ οἰκεῖον ποιοῦσι, as making the body of a Sweet-heart the Image, and his house the Temple of Love. The tokens they usually sent were Garlands and Roses, τὰ στεφάνιά μοι καὶ τὰ ῥόδα πέμπων (sayes *Petala* to *Simaleon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) sometimes bitten pieces of Apples, μῆλα κατεδηδεσμένα (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with those expressions in fashion among the Romans, when they sate at Table, *viz.* leaving drink in the cup, and giving morsels of meat, such as [c] *Martial* would have *Pontia* send him, rather then a whole legge, or the like, or such as [d] *Ovid* speaks of,

* *Si tibi fortè dabit, quos præguſtaverit ipſe,*

[a] *Eustath. Il.* ω.

[b] *L.* 15.

[c] *L. ep.* 7.

[d] *Amor. l.* 1. *El.* 4

Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.

e*De vita Cleric. ad Nepotian.* But I must tell you S. *Hierom* e censures, *degustatos cibos blandosque, ac dulces literulas sanctus amor non habet, it ought not to be so amongst you, Symmachus* upon these words of the *Birds* in *Aristophanes* χ' πῶς ἂν ἡμῶν ἀπέζω, says, they were wont to gratifie one another with Birds, such as Doves, and the ὄρνιθ, and the like. But these expressions I weigh but little, when I observe that scarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ἔτυ τοίχῳ saith the *Scholiast*) was passed by without writing f thereon the name of the party, in this form ὁ δεῖνα καλὸς, or κοῦρος καλὸς, for the word κοῦρος among the *Grecians* signified *amasium*, a *Womans word*, like τῦτος in *Theocritus*,

f*Diog. Laer. in Diadem.*

ἰὼ ξένε τὸν τῦτον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα φέρεσθε.

Instead whereof (say some) you shall read κῦμος in the *Comedian in Vespis*, but I see no such need of a correction, for he speaks of the Lawyer that was so much in love with the imployment of the Court, that the κῦμος a (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one such thing or other ran still in his mind, and therefore (saith he)

a*Vid. p. 118.*

——— ἀν' ἡδὺ γάρ τις ἐγγραμμένον
Τὸν πυελέμματος ἐν θύρᾳ δῆλον καλὸν,
Ἰὸν παρίγραψε τανταλον κῦμος καλὸς.

In like manner the men dealt with the names of their Mistresses, which they wrote sometimes upon the very leaves of the Trees according to that of *Callimachus*,

Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ φύλλοις τοσσάδε γράμματα θέσσι
Γεγράμματα, Κυδίππην ὀνόμηνον Καλὴν.

Let on the leaves so many letters lie,
As my *Cydippe Fair* may signifie.

which puts me in mind of what *Lucian* in his Ἔρωτες says of one that was ready to die with the love of *Cnidia Venus*; Τοῖχῳ ἀνακεχαράχατο, καὶ πᾶς μαλακὸς κίσσος ἐφοίτα βρεφιστὶ καλὸν ἀνέγνω, *not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a bark of a tree but what proclaimed* VENUS FAIR. How glad

glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worn them in their Hats as we do: but no wonder they did as they did, having a *copy* written to them by Nature (for

Inscripti nomina verum
Nascuntur flores ———) and an *example* given them by Apollo himself, who when he turned *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the same name to keep his *memory* alive, when he was dead & not contented with that,

Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit, & Ai, Ai,
Flos habet inscriptum ——— *Ovid. Met. Lib. 10. Fab. 5.*

Thus was the memory of Ajax preserved, and one half of his name, as the same Author hath it.

Littera communis mediis puer atque viroque
Inscripta est foliis: hæc nominis, illa querelæ! *Lib. 13. fab. 1.*

But the vehement love of *Moschus* to *Bion* his deceased friend thought those lamenting interjections too little, unless there were written a Κῶνος καλὸς besides upon the same flower.

Νῦν τάχιον λάλει τὰ σὰ γράμματα, ὦ πάλιν Αἴ Αἴ,
Λάμβανε ζωὸς παλαιὸς, καλὸς τίθησι μαθητής.

Καλὸς for him, and Καλὴ for her was sure to be written, for *never seem'd Mistris soul and Prison fair.* But for her part if she were Κυάνοφρυς, or had black eye-brows she was counted fair indeed, according to that of *Gregory Nyssen*, ὦ ὀφρῦν μέλαναν πεποιχυμένην τῷ σώματι, insomuch that *Jul. Pollux* saies, they had a trick μελαίνειν τὰς ὀφρῦς to black them: or if she were somewhat big of stature; and therefore *Aristotle* in his Rhetorick puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Ἀρετὴ τῷ σώματος, as he doth μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ φιλεργίαν, for the most commendable virtues of her mind. What the women of other times esteemed to be the τὸ κάλλος of a man I know not. It seems in *Aristotle's* time it was counted most commendable, τὸ περὶ τὰς πάλας χρήσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τάχος τε περὶ δρόμον ἅμα καὶ βίας ἅμα δὲ δοκεῖ ἰσχὺν περὶ παλαίειν. But I have talkt too *Theocrit*

long

long of Love, or of *Robin-hood*, that never ſhot in his bow. I fear the Reader will blame me, for caſting away ſo much oyle and labour upon ſuch a ſubject, and (it may be) give his cenſure, that *Oratio eſt vultus animi*. But thoſe that know me will diſtruſt his Phyſiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am *in*, I will not ſtick, but *properè ſequi quæ pigeat inchoare*, * and proceed to the Nuptials themſelves.

Seneca Ep. 115.

* Tacit.

CAP. VII.

De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unleſs the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as *Varro* calls her) or σταφυλὴ ἀμφαίζων, but a ſower grape (as *Euſtathius*) and not yet ripe *Matura viro* (in the words of *Virgil*) they were thus betrothed and yoaked together. The man did in the preſence of witneſſes, *promiſe himſelf* after the manner of the Latine form, *ſe ſponſam poſt concubitum invitam non deſerturum*, and ſo gave her one μνῶν or other in earneſt: but the woman ſhe was *deſponſata*, promiſed or beſtowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promiſes of a Woman were falſe enough to make the ſaying among the *French* to be true.

Qui femme croit & aſne meſme,
Son corps ne ſera ia ſans peine.

And yet (it ſeems) though they feared ſhe might break a promiſe, they thought an oath to be ſtrong enough to hold her: For ſometimes at the conſummation of the buſineſs, they went both into the *Temple*, & there engaged themſelves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practiſe of *Cliſtophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Iſis*, where the man ſwore ἀγαπήσειν ἀεὶ Λευκίππην, and the woman ἀντὶ μνώσεως, ἢ πάντων ἀνεξόδων δωρεῶν. I do not remember that the *Athenians*

Achil. Tat. lib. 5.

nians had that good fellow trick of the *Galatians*, to made a *poculum conjugii*, as well as *Charitasia* & to *pledge their troth* in a *cup*, a trick by which [a] *Camma* is reported to have poysoned *Synorix* (whom she pretended to Marry) for kissing her Husband. Or that they used the custom of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loaf in two between them with a sword, related by [b] *Q. Curtius*. Surely it had been a true *Roman consecration*, if they had. The rites usually observed at a wedding are said [c] to have been invented by *Erato*. They were partly these. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would say to take her leave of the [d] *Virgin*; Besides this, before she can cease to be of the *herd* to the ἄζυγα [e] κέρεα, take heed, *Great Diana* will be clean out of patience, if she have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calf, never yet married in the *yoak*, (and so the fitter for the maid that gives, and the maid that takes) and a crop of her hair besides, according to that of *Euripides*.

[a] *Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.*

[b] *L. 8.*

[c] *Cæl. Rhod. l. 7. c. 4.*

[d] παρθὶν &c.

[e] *Minerva* so called.

[e] Μέλλεις μὲν γάμων, ἀλλ' ἀγᾷ πολὺν χρόνον
Ἀρτέμιδι.

Euripid. in Iphigen. Aul. versu 11, 12.

And therefore *Clytemnestra* (speaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband;

[f] Πότερα δ' ἔπεμψε θυσίαν ἐς Ἄρτεμιν,

f Ibid. v. 7, 8.

Whether he had seen the sacrifice perform'd? But alas poor *Iphigenia*, she had not so much to *do* as to be a sacrifice to *Diana* the *Goddess of Aulis*, and to be made a Calf her self. When as our Woman, it will serve her turn to κανηφορῆν to *Diana* the goddess of *Virginity*, that is, give her in a basket for a present to stop her mouth, some curious needle-work or other, with a prayer besides to this purpose [g] Ἀγνὰς μὲν τοὺς τρόπους &c. *That she would not take it amiss if she married.* But now I must tell you, that besides those rites of the κανηφόρια, there were others as solemn as they to be observed too, if ever they thought to obtain the good will of the Goddess. The

[g] *Theocr. Id. 27.*

man-

manner of them, and the occasion you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certain Bear growing tame, came and lived in the δῆμος of the *Phlyenses*, insomuch that at length a little girle durst go so far and so near, as to play with it, but the Bear quickly grew to be in earnest, and drew her blood for the *stake*; whereupon one of her Brothers shot the Bear and killed it. Presently after this there happened a very great Pestilence in the City, and the Oracle being sought unto, answer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they must make a decree, that every girle in the City of *Athens*, sometime or other between the years of Five and Ten of her age, clad in a κροκωτὸς or Saffron colour garment, do offer and devote her self to *Diana*, to make amends for the Bear; and therefore a girle thus consecrated, was her self called ἄρκτος the * Bear, and the action ἀρκτεία and ἀρκτεύειν to *play the Bear*. (which methinks was very unfitting for a Maid) and sometimes διαρκτεύειν, because commonly they deferred it till the last year, as she did in a *Lysistrate*,

* *Harpocr.*

a *Aristoph.*

Εἶτ' ἀλλαγὴ ἡ Λυσέως
Οὐπιτ' ἀρχαία
Κατανεύσασα χρεκτεῦσαι τὰ Βραυρώνια.

Ἐν Βραυρῶνι she sayes, because it was to be done in the Feast of *Brauronia* kept in the Moneth of *Munichion* to the honour of the same *Diana*, who *a* is reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pausanias* (*in Atticis*) sayes that Image of hers which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, insomuch that she came to be called by the name of *Diana* *b* *Brauronia*. And yet for for all this, for ought that I can see, she need not have been so scrupulous for displeasing I know not whom, if she had *Cecrops* his own Law for warrant, who first instituted the contract of Matrimony, and was therefore called by the name of θεσμὸς, saith *c* *Eustathius*; or else (according to the Scholiast upon *d* *Aristophanes*)

a *Athen. l. 6.*

b *Pausan. in Arcad.*

c *Ad Odyss.*

d *In Plut. Act. 3. Sc. 3.*

Stephanus (ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, because he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father and Mother (as to *Knowledg* and in the way of a *certain* couple) or rather, if you will, the natures of a *Father* and a *Son*; for before, neither the Father could be known by the Son, nor the Son by the Father. But some again say, he had this name, because of his having the bodies of two distinct natures: in the upper part of a man, and in the lower of a Dragon, as he says (in *Vespis*)

Ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἦσθ' ἄνωθεν ὢν ἐξ ὧν λέγει τἀνδρὸς ἡμιστάτου.

And others, because of the many excellent Lawes which he made. Whereby he is reported to to have tam'd & civiliz'd the brutish conditions of the ancient people of *Athens*, that he seemed to have *new moulded* them, and made them of *another nature*; in the sense, that the stones have been said to be turn'd into Men, and the Trees into Lovers of Musick. Of all the reasons that are given, I like that best, which likes *c Rhodiginus*, who says, he was called by this name, because the *children* did now appear to be ἀμφοῖν, *come of two*, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but μητρωνύμοι, the Sons of a *Mother* only; nay hardly that, at such time as the fashion was to be *exposed*, or *put out* to nursing to Bears and Wolves and the like. But enough of this, for I have more work for the Woman yet. She must Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the past, and in special manner to *Juno* γαμηλία, either as a *Pronuba* for the *present*, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater familias* (as he in *a Plautus* calls her) for the future. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their Gods, when they chang'd their condition, and I should be glad if *we Christians* could answer, *not guilty*, in this particular, being every one of us too too ready αἰτιᾶσθαι, &c. (as *Aristotle* says in his *b Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum Bonum* every day at the least. The Sacrifices performed to *Juno* went under the several names of προγάμεια, προτέλεια, and προτέλεια ὑγιῆ, ἀγρῖα, and γαμήλια δεκτά, indeed the two

c Lib. 12.

a In Amphit. Act. 2. Sc.

b Lib. 1. c. 4.

first are sometimes the same that προγάμια, the gifts sent before the wedding, and the word τελείας is used also sometimes in relation to others as well as to *Juno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verse of *Euripides* already cited. And therefore in another (*e*) place of the same Tragedy, you have the *Greek* Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they saw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptial pomp thus speaking,

(e) v. 433.

Ἀγέρωχα μεγαλόζωνα τὴν παρθένον
Ἀδελφὸς ἀνδρὸς τῆς τὸν ἄζυγα πόθον.

(d) Jul. Pol. l. 3. c. 3.

And so sometimes to the (*d*) *Parcæ*, whom they had reason to remember, if they meant to be *Shav'd*, or to spin out their lives to the longest. But yet *Juno* (I think) was in a great deal more request among Lovers, than any of the rest, because they had her name so oft in their mouths. For among the *Latines*, when they would express themselves in the most affectionate manner that might be, they used to call one another by the name of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the old dotard does his *Casina* in the Poet * by the name of *Juno*.

* Plaut. in Casinâ Act. 1. Sc. 3.

Ejo mea Juno, non decet te esse tam tristem tuo Jovi.

Adde hereunto the title of Τελεία, (as there is also Ζεὺς γάμηλος) under which she was worshipped, which (together with the word τελείας) must be so said, either from γάμος anciently put for γάμος (as γαμήλιος was for γαμικός) from whence comes τέλειον both the Sacrifice and the day, or from τελειοῦν to *initiate*, or from τέλειον *adultum*, as if onely such as were of age (& εἰς ἥβην τελοῦν) might be suffered to have the happiness to marry. Now *Juno adulta* and *Jupiter adultus* were the more religiously worshipped at such a time εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ Διὸς γάμου (says *Suidas*) as being esteemed in a manner the Patrons and overseers of the wedding. Here's a great deal of coyl about *sacrifices*, but you'l say the *Veil* is to come: onely some τιμαὶ there must be, lest any Roman should grudg the Woman the name of a *Spousa*. Now because (it may be) I set you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will speak a word or two more of them. The gifts

* Aristotle.

called

called by *Demosthenes*, προικία, was that which they sent to the γαμβρὸς for the making of a Feast, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gift of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptials, they called δῶρα (as they did also those which they gave when they went a woing). But the πρῶτος γάμος was a garment bestowed upon the Husband by the wife (giving of apparel was very usual once both with the *Jew* (a) & the *Gentile*, and you may not wonder at her for liberality, if she *gave a Cake to him that had a Pasty in the Oven*; for if she *brought* her σῖτα, she had her σκεύη to *carry* away. Nor can you blame her for immodesty in giving, who was to be *given* her self: for else (it may be) before it was come thus far she might bear the blame of the proverb, *femme qui donne s'abandonne, fote that giveth is soon gotten*. The petty gifts then *given* by the Parents they cal'd ἀμφιδρόμια, ἀνακαλυπτήρια, as were those which were given *after* the Wedding. The dowry bestowed upon her by her Father at the first, φερνή: that which was afterward added to improve it, ἐπιφορά. (thus some have thought good to distinguish, and look their gifts in the mouth; but they may be too free of their distinctions. That her first coming to her husband, she had bestowed upon her by him and her Friends τὰ ἀναγκαῖα (which was also the name of the day it self) otherwise called σκεύη, ἐπιπλα, ἀβρώματα and κατασκευάσματα, and all for the same reason viz. because those gifts were given, *ut illa facilitas ei deferri*, saies (b) *Victorius*: to make her take off her veil, & be seen; in such a way *Jupiter* is reported to have bestowed upon *Proserpina* the City of *Thebes*, according to those verses of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Schoiast upon *Euripides* in *Phœnissis*.

Ἐν γάμῳ ὅτε νύμφην μιν ἐδώρησεν Ἀϊδωνεὺς
Νυμφίῳ σὺν πύργῳ μεγαλήτορα κλονέοντες.

Κλονέοντες saies he, or κλόνεον according to *Pollux*: for al-

a Gen. c. 24. 53.

b Var. Lect. l. 25. c. 3.

though she might now shew her face, and be modest never the lesse, yet *before*, she stood behind a red vayl or hood, with which she hid her self, and so deserved the name of καλυπτη if it were for nothing else a but for that. This *Latreus* vail is otherwaies called ἐπωμὶς, in Latine *Flammeum*, a in Heb. עטרה such a thing as *Rebeccah* had when she met with her husband, Gen. 24. 65. or *Tamar* when she met with a worse thing, c. 38. 19. The reason why they were not unveiled till they came to be *covert Baron* (I mean at *Athens*, for at *Sparta* they say, it was the clean contrary) is by *Curilaus* (cited by b *Cal. Rhodiginus*) delivered *vail'd* under these words. ἵνα μὴ τὸν αἰσχρὸν ἄνδρα ὑφῶ δῶ, τὸ ἀφυὲς τοῦ ἤθους, the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custom though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very great aime when I say, *Nulla fuga forma tibi*— (as *Ovid* saies of *Penis* when *Apollo* pursued her) or when I express my self in the words of *Nonnus*.

Καὶ πάλιν ἱμείρουσι κεκρυμμένοι ἀσπασίοισιν.

Men long to see a face that's hid the more.

Indeed the case was otherwise with the Sophister *Hermocrates*, who having a Wife that was none of the handsomest, put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being demanded his ἀπαλλαγήσεται, very handsomely answered to put it off, ἐκαλυπτόμην μὲν ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς μᾶλλον, I had more need to give her somewhat to let her vail alone, unless she were better than she is. Whether these *Flammea* were of the same making that their ordinary καλύπτρα were, I cannot well tell, but if they were, as I have some cause so to think, by those words of (a) *Iphigenia* as she was going to be married, ἐμοὶ δ' ὑπὲρ κόρης ἔσται δὲ κάλυμμα πέπλος τ', then I must tell you they were so thin that their faces might well have been discovered, and the covering been let alone, for *Helen* it seems, could see the flowers through them.

a See another reason in *Prov.* 7. 19.

a *Jav. Sat.* 6.

b L. 13. 46.

als *Aul.* v. 372.

b Ὄρ μαχλάδες
Ἀφρυώσαν ἐπὶ παρειὰν
Ῥόδα πίτυλα—

b *Eurip. Hel.* v. 190.

But this may be easily answered, for as (you know) a mountain that is far off, may be hid by putting but the little finger between, so again, one man is able to see another plainly thorow that which is sufficient to hide himself. And so much for the gifts at present, perchance you may have more anon. Now the custome was for the Bride to be carryed from her (παστάδος) Chamber to her Husband in a Coach or some such kind of thing, which the poor Girle in the * Poet (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuse) could term little better than being *ferried* in *Charons* boat.

* Id. in Tauris v. 370. &c.

Ἀλλ' Ἀχιλλέως μὲν οὐκ, ἄχ' ὑμέναιον
Ὃν μοι προὔτεινας πόσιν ἐς δόμους δ' ἔχοις
Εἰς νεκύων πορθμεῖα καὶ δολίους γάμους.

To *Pluto*, not to *Peleus's* son
You would me then have married,
When me to bloody Nuptials
In Coach and Fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather so much by the *Nuncius* in another Tragedy, for he saies, he had done this office for *Helen* himself.

Id. in Hel. v. 728

Λαμπάδ' ἐγὼ μιμνάμαν', ὅτε γ' ὑμεναίους
Ἴωνος πρυχίζων, παίδων τὸν Δ' ἐς Πλαγκτὰς
Σὺν πεύκᾳ γυμνάδι μ' ἔλαυνε δαίμων.

(I make bold to trouble you with so much Greek, because it explains the custome so fully.) The song which they sung as they went along, they called ἁμάξιον μέλος from, ἅμαξα the Coach, the Axletree whereof they burnt as soon as they came to the Bridegroms door, *ut significarent illam ibi perpetuo mansuram, neque inde ulla tempestate* * *recessuram*, to shew that she was never to return from thence again: just as *William* the Conqueror burnt his ships at *Pevensey*, that so his Souldiers seeing their return to be desperate, might Fight the more *desperately* (as we use to say) or with the better courage. The ὑμεναγωγὸς, παιδοτρίβης, or ἡνίοχος that

* Alex. ab Alex.

was sent to fetch her, either sate by his side in the same Coach, or else went along by her Coaches side in another, & was therefore called παράνυμφος, from ἄχος; unless that she were either willing, or constrain'd to foot it, for then he could be but χαμαιπετὴς a Peate. This custome for the husband to lead his wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in fashion among Kings and Princes) was sure to be observed at his second Marriage, for then (saies a Eustathius) ὁ δίγαμος (interpretatur saies b Pollux) ἐγγυητὴν μισθοῦται, he might not do it himself, perhaps out of shame, because they accounted it a disparagement for a man to Marry the second time, yea though his former wife were dead, as it may be I shall have occasion to shew you hereafter. Besides the νυμφοστόλος, or the Brideman, & some of her own friends, there went along with her a νυμφεύτρια, or a Bride-woman to take off her vaile, & dress, & undress, and do other such offices as should be required. Her Wedding Ornaments were pretious stones & jewels, especially about her bed, such as c Hermione had in the Tragedy. Κοσμεῖ τὸν ἄμπυξ κρατὶ χρυσέας χλιδᾶς. Her Wedding Garment was all of purple save in one place (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where else) ὑφὴς τὰς ἄνω λευκὸν ἐσθὴς ἡ χρὼς ἡ πορφυρᾶς ἴσον χρῶτα τοῦ; and there was gold, which agrees very well with that of Hesiod concerning a Virgin,

Οὔπω τις πόδα κάλλιχορον ἀφεστήκει.

Who never yet the Works of Golden venus knew.

I think I might venter upon this custome to interpret τὸν παρανύμφιον ὕμνον (in e Eustathius) in another sense than others have done. When she came to the house, she found the Doors all hung with Garlands already, Domus tota laureis obsita, saies f Apuleius; it seems they tarryed not till d Juvenals time

—Foribus suspende Coronas
Jam pater es—

Neither was it any whit strange to her to see those ornaments upon the House, for she herself had the same according to those words of Clytemnestra to Achilles,

Σοὶ

a Il. γ. l. 8. b L. 3. c. 3.

a Eurip. Androm. v. 147.

b Ver. l. 10 c L. 3. Met. d Sat. 9.

ἄνδρι κοσμεῖν, ἡ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα. d *Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 705.*

And (I think) her Husband too *ἀνὴρ κοσμοῦντι, μητὴρ κοσμοῦσα* e *Declam. 39.* *ἄνδρι κοσμεῖν*, says a *Libanius*, speaking to the Father, whose work it was to trim the Husband, as it was the Mothers to adorn the Wife. The custome of adorning the *House* with Garlands, was very much in use among the Romans too, & as much detested by the Christians, *Christianus nec Laureis januam infamabit*, says f *Tertullian*. Those Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, consecrated to *Venus*, and so they made them in *Italy*, or of *Asparagus*, and so they made them in *Bœotia*, or else of the leaves of the herbs Σησάμη, Σήσαμον, and *Minthe*, and so they made them at *Athens*, Σήσαμα ἢ ἡ μίνθη ἢ πολύκαρπα φύλλα ἦν στεφάνων οἱ γαμικοί, says the g Scholiast, the leaves had the name of the Herb in the plural number. The *Garland* made of *Sesamum* leaves had the name of Σησαμὶς or Σησαμὶς, but the *Cake* which they made of the grain was called Σησαμῖτις. For Cakes they usually bestowed upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* says in the h Comedy (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding.)

f *De Cœron. Milit. c. 13.*

g *Upon Aristoph. in Pa.*

Ὁ πλακοῦς πέπεπται Σησαμῆ ξυμπλάσματος. h *Aristoph. Pax.*

And made they were of *Sesamum* rather than any other thing διὰ τὸ πολύκαρπον (says the Scholiast) as it were the herb *Polyginum*, a name very ominous to the new Married people. Whether the custome of kembing her hair with a Spear (such as had been kept by a Fencer with the loss of his life) were in use among the *Grecian* women too (as some i say it was) I cannot determine: But among the *Romans* it was, and they called such a spear *hastam cælibarem*. The reason why the Woman made use of such a comb, or made this use of a Spear, is thought to be, either *quasi fortis ea de causa virasse geniturâ ominetur*, because she ominated that by this meâs she should have strong men to her children, or *quod sponsi disciplinæ se subditam fateatur*. Because she acknowledg'd her self subject to her husbands discipline. As the woman went forth of her

i *Alex ab alex. l. 2. c. 9.*

fathers

thers house, she was to be *lifted* out over the threshold, just as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of the Election, to pretend a constraint. You see, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almost every where, and yet they say, that *Love will Creep where it cannot go*. As she entred into her
a *Aristæn. plato.* Husband-house, the a Boyes and Maids fell a throwing of Figs and Junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of *sycophancy*, but as an *omen* of *fruitfulness*: δαιμόνια συμβόλα, (says *Rhodiginus* out of *Theopompus*) which puts me in mind of a foolish custome once in fashion with some of us, *viz.* upon *Twelf-Eve* (as they call'd it) to put part of their toasted *Bean-cake* upon one of their Trees, and so to cry *Whatsayle*, and sing a *Carmen* for a fruitful year. The trumpery thus thrown or poured out, they called κατάχυσματα, as the word is used by the Poet in his Comedy of *Plato*, where he brings in the Woman ready to do the like upon him, and so to give him the *Ivy* for his new bought eyes, says she

——Καὶ σὲ κατάχυσμα
Ἵνα νεανίσκῳ ἐπιβαλοῦσ' ἔχω.

Upon which words the Scholiast notes it to have been the custome also for a new servant, at his first coming into the house, to have him to the fire side, and there to *sow* upon his head ἀμύγδαλα, ἰσχάδα, φοίνικα, Junkets, and Figs, and Palm-branches, and a hundred other such trinkets. But this I think was done, not onely as he sayes, εἰς σύμβολον γονίμου, to make it an *omen* of fruitfulnesse (as they had done to his Master before) but also for the benefit of the old Servant, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was thrown, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) do the *Freshmens Gaudies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but some *beast* or other was bestowed upon *them* for a *victime*. In the cutting of it up (to shew that in Wedlock all bitternesse and choller must be cast aside) they took the a Gall, and flung it with a most eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice.

a *Cæl. Rhod. l. 28. c. 21.*

I

if there happened any thing *obscene* or unlucky, the Nuptials were dissolv'd, and thus it happened to b *Clitophon*, and *Calligone*, for an Eagle came and snatch'd away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. Now this Sacrifice was usually performed by the Fathers (and none so fit to be the Priests of their own family) as may be gathered from the practise of c *Agamemnon*, who when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding chear*, very religiously made answer yes,

Θύσας θύματ' ἄνευ δόλου ἑορτὰν δώσει.

When I have done my Wedding *Sacrifice*.

As also by that which you may read of the like practice in *Achilles Tatius*, where he speaks of the Marriages of *Leucippe* and *Clitophon*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more especiall manner to *Jupiter* Τελείῳ, and *Juno* Ζυγία, as it may appear by that of *Libanius*, τὸ γαμικὸν ἱερεῖον, ἐμοὶ μὲν Διὶ τελείῳ θύσω, ἐμοὶ δὲ Ἥρᾳ Ζυγίᾳ ἱδρύσω πρόπολον. By reason of this, and other solemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a Prophanation they made it to disturb the businesse never so little, or to offer any *incivility* to either of the parties, especially to the Wife: as for instance, One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the story in *Photius Codice* 96.) being accused of Bribery to the *Areopagi*, they summon'd him to make his appearance at the Court to answer the crime; but the Sergeants that were sent (saith my Author) τὰ στέμματα ἰδόντες ἐπιθαλάμια, ἐγγὺς εἶναι νόμισαν τὸν γάμον, ἀπῆλθον ἀναχωρήσαντες· ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπιστὰς ἐπεκάλει, as soon as they saw but the *signs* of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the door) & were informed of a Nuptial Sacrifice, because they would not rush in uncivilly upon the new Married Wife, they made no more enquiry after the man, but returned presently back again, and the Court was contented with the news. So likewise in the Wars with King *Philip*, having intercepted several Letters of his to his friends, and amongst the rest

b *Ach. Tat.* l. 2.

c *Eurip. Iph. in A.* v. 721.

Libanius Declam. 35.

one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*, when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cry'd out μὴν κάκον μέγα ἀναγνῶναι, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up. Ἡ δὲ σφετέρη γυνὴ
a Plutar. lib. καὶ τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκπλαγεῖσα ἀπήλλαξε ἀσπασίως ἀπιόντος. because they thought it a thing no way becoming them to divulge that most secret converse by letters betwixt a man and his wife. From the service of their *Gods*, they made haste to the service of their *Genius*, but amidst of a great deal of good cheer, the man & the wife were always noted (*a*) for a great deal of temperance too. The
a Athenæus lib. 9. Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thorns, and boughs o Acornes, singing as he went ὅτι κρείττονα πέφυγε, εὗρε δ' ἀμείνω, (or *they*
b Strabo. *have avoided a worse evil, and met with a better.* If he spake in the person of the man, he meant that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the best of the *worst evils* at the least, & so it is not so bad as *out of the frying pan into the fire*, unless you will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of seeing her, soe so (they say) *he that hath lost his Wife and six pence, hath some loss by the money.* The Musick which they had was singing
c Arist. in Avib. by turns, and calling upon *Hymenæus* (as the Romans did upon *Talassius*) ὦ ὑμέναι, ὦ ὑμέναι, imitated by him in *Plautus*,

Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Io Hymen.

And this they did either in a *thankful commemoration* of one of that name, who had sometimes saved the Maids of *Athens* from a general ravishment, (*a*) for whereas there was one of the *Athenians* (as else in a *sorrowful commiseration* of another, that happened to be killed by the fall of a house that very day that he Married. Whatever, the *Reason* was, they seem to have given him the honour of a God, and therefore to have been very touched to give him distaste, in omitting any part of the Nuptial Ceremonies.

Quid

Quid sibi vestis ostendat Hymenæum? a *In Cæsarem Act. 4. Sc. 3.*

saies he in a *Plautus*. And this it was that made them keep such a noyse in the Streets, as they did with their *Io Hymen Hymenæe*, as soon as ever she was out of her Fathers house.

Ἐκ τοῦ δὲ μεγάρου Ὑμὴν Ὑμέναιε.

saies *Chytreus*; b which agrees with that of the other Poet in the same place. b *Euripidis Iphigenia, A. v. 695.*

Age tibicen, duc illam edentulus hunc novam nuptam foras,
Simul canem concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæe.

Whether 'twere the fashion in *Greece* to set the woman first in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tell: but (if I mistake not) *Lactantius* has somewhat of such a thing, and I might speak more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the woman was led into the Chamber (ὁ θάλαμος or Παστὰς) to shew whereto she must, there was a sieve carryed along with her, and a pestle hung at the door, *signifying* (as *Julius Pollux* saies) or to signifie that hereafter she must learn to *put her hand* to any kind of labour. When the Man and the Woman were both in (for the Woman was in first, as the fashion is with Us) according to *Solons* own order, they were to take a *Quince apple*, and eat it between them, Ἵνα τῇ πρώτῃ συνουσίᾳ, ἡ γυνὴ χάσκουσα ὑπ' αἰδοῦς ἡσυχίαν ἄγῃ, saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to signifie *the pleasantness and harmony that should be in their first meeting first*. And yet notwithstanding now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a Chough would come and scold (*graves corvicarentur* forsooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at least) and leave the *building imperfect*; and this they called ἀτελῆ τὰ γάμου: or ἄρρητα ἄγειν, because by this means

a *Valer. Flac.*

—*Conjux miserandi Cæyx*
Linquitur & primo Ilionis imperfecta sub ulli.

Ἄρρητα said (or if you will ἄρρητα) speak a little finer) ἄγειν, for this word is many times used by it self for ἄγειν, as it seems to be by *Plato* in his third book *de Repub.* speaking of *Lapithæ* thus, Ἀγόντων καὶ ὑμεναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς

Ἀλλ' οὐ τι δυμήτειρ' ἰθύνει θυμὸς ἐμοῖο, ἀλλ' αὖτε δαῆναι καὶ πυθέσθαι. And yet I think *Hesiod* (without any wrong done him) may be understood of any other business left *Roughhewn, unpolish'd*, or not *done over* again, when he saies,

b Pyth. 2.

Μισῶ δ' ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀναλίσκειν
Μέτρον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις πτερύγων ἐπιβάλλοντα τοξεύειν.

c Apud Eust. l. 5.

c *Eustathius* applies it indeed to our purpose; but now to prevent such an *omen* as this, they set the boies to cry Κέρκνα ἔκπληκτα κέρκνα, in manner of a *Scare-crow*, as if they had been set to keep off the Rooks from the corn: κέρκνα (I say) and not κέρκνα, in the plural number: for herein the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* is supposed to have mistaken, because neither that bird, nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which was commonly the day before the Wedding) was ever wont to be lookt upon as unlucky; unless it came in the singular number, and then the *birds* being singled & divided one from the other could not possibly be a good sign to those that were to be *coupl'd*, and joyn'd together. But some notwithstanding like the Choughs for *very good lucky birds* (as we use to say) let them come how they will, either because they are μονήρεις (as *Homer* cals them) long liv'd, or because *ea cornicum fuisse in est* (saies a one) *ut ex nostris Socia, alterâ exstinctâ, vidua altera perpetua maneat*. Now in the Chamber where they were to lie, they had two beds, viz. καλὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ, & καλὴν ἀναπαύσεων, or a *fair bed* for a change, or ἵνα τὸ πλῆθος μὴ ἀθυμῶσι saith *Hesychius*. If the parties that were married were very young, their Poets would term the bed νεοσσεὰν ἀλόχῳ, as *Aristophanes* does (in *Pace*) and so νεοσσὸν δόμον for the house, and νεοσσὸν for the wife. Before the woman could lie with the man she was to have her bath of water heated of purpose to wash her body in, which they called it, according to that of the Comedian in *Lysistrate*.

a *Alex. ab Alex. l. 5.*

c *Homer.*

Ση. Ὦ θύρα, τί λέγεις; ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἔνι;
Λυσ. Κατάκαυμ' ὅπως ἂν τὸν ἄνδρα λούσῃς.

And in *Pace*, you have *Trigæus* when he intended to marry

Opora

Opera, giving order to his servant, as soon as he had brought her to his house, first to provide him a pot of Water, and afterward to make the bed.

Ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν, ἐπίμηχθε τάχιστ' ἐπὶ λουτρὸν ἑλέσθαι,
Καὶ τὴν εὐνήσας τετάνυσσ', ἵνα θάλπωμαι ὕπνῳ
Στιβάδ' ἀπὸ χρὼς ἐπὶ χρωτὶ νεοξέστῳ ἀλόχῳ.

This water at first was fetcht as far as from *Callirhoe* well, ἐκ Καλλιρόης, ἣν ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐντεῦθεν κληθῆναι, But afterward, saies (*a*) *Pollux*, from *Enneacrunus*, which was so called because it had nine several ῥύσεις, or *fistulæ*, or *salientes*, where the water sprung up, & so you might allow one for every Muse in the City. But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrunus* were but two distinct names of the same Well. The one expressing what *fair water* it was, or how well and clear it ran, and the other in how many places, for it may very well be thought so by that verse of (*b*) *Statius*.

Et quos Callirhoe nouis erumpentibus undis
Implicat ——

Nay, *Thucidides* saies positively, they were the same Onely that when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was usual when they new made a thing to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrunus*. Which if it be so, I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐκ τῆς Καλλιρόης, ἣν ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐντεῦθεν κληθῆναι. From *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacrunus*. The woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this water, was commonly called the Λουτροφόρος. When the Wife was ready to undress, her Mother took her hair-lace and winding it about one of the *Torches* (for they had δαδουχίαι, or too) burnt it out, and made up her hair with a new. The *Mother* I said. For she commonly would ἐπαύξειν, carry the torches, or hold the candle to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba's* used to do.

— Non ea dixit in thalamos parens
Comitata primos, nec sua fecit manu

a L. 3. c. 3.

b Theb. 12.

Ornavit ædes, nec sub lætas faces
Virtute vertit.—

[9] Senec. Theb. sacies [9] *Incubat.*

For the matter of these Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not assur'd: whether it were *Corylus*, commonly used for such purposes, according to *Pliny*; or *Larix*, or *Spina alba*, which they used amongst the Romans: and so likewise for their number, whether the custom were to have just five, according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, *viz. Jupiter Adultus, Juno Adulta, Venus, Suadela, & Lucina*, they have not given me light enough to discover, a little glimmering I have, and some cause to conjecture, that there was a certain number required. Otherwise why should the covetous Father in [a] *Libanius* complain so heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter) that he could not τὴν λοιπὴν νύκτα ἐγκαῦσαι, light the Bride to bed with one & no more. But for the bearer that it was usually the Mother, will appear by the discourse that passed between *Clytemnestra* and her Husband in the [b] *Poet*; for when her Husband bid her go back again to *Argos*, & leave her daughter with him; she askt him

[a] Declam. 37.

[b] Eurip. Iph. in Aul. v. 734.

——— τίς δ' ἀμφιχώσει φλόγα, *but who shall carry the Torches then?* and being answered ἐγὼ μητέρα χρή, τὰ νυμφίου πρέπει, that he meant to do it himself: nay quoth she ἐχ ὅσιον ἔνδον ἐστὶ σοὶ γυναῖκ' ἐμὴν ἰδεῖν, *that was not the custom, neither do you your self think it to be handsome and fitting.* And indeed, I think, *Clytemnestra* was wrong'd, for it seems to have been reckoned not so much the *office* and the *charge* as the *Priviledge*, and the *honour* of the Grecian Woman. And therefore *Medea* made it one of the sad consequents of her banishment from the company of her Children, to be debarred the bearing of the Torches at their Wedding. *O my dear children, quoth she, what a Wretch am I, who must thus leave you before I carry the Torches.*

[a] Εἶεν· λέλοιπα, φίλαι γυναῖκες, φίλιαι
Ἐμοῖς ἀγῶσι λαμπάδας τ' ἀπεργάτης.

[a] Eurip. Med. 1025.

Tis

'Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had desir'd only to have *lighted* the Torches, she might very well have been blam'd for her passion, because then he had done no more than other fathers used to do. Δᾷδας γαμικὰς ἐκαιόμην : *I lighted the Torches*, says he in * *Libanius*. But this offence neither of them could challenge from the other, but they shar'd it between them, for the Mothers might do it too, if we may believe the Author in these words which he puts in *Niobes* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's* upon the death of her children) Ἐγὼ δὲ λαμπάδας γαμικὰς οὐδὲ νυμφίον (not onely ἐκαιόμην) οὐδὲ ὑμέναιος ἐγὼ παῖδας, *I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding*, &c. At *Sparta* there was none of these doings, only the *Pronuba* shaved the woman (whether because she had *vowed* so to be henceforth her Husbands) and so delivered her up to the man (if she had gone among the * *Israelites* when she was thus used, certainly the people there would have taken her for a *captive* Wife) The Zona which the Woman wore was untied by the Husband in the bed, ζώνη γὰρ ἡ κεκτημένη λύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ συζύγου, ἢ ζώνη ἐλύετο ὅταν ἐν παιδοποιΐᾳ γένηται, says the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of Λυσζώνη might be given to *Diana* as seasonably then as at the time of Child-bearing, and worshipped she was then as well as at any other time. But at which of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona* or whether there were another yet to be untyed besides this, or whether it was tyed and untyed again, or whether one knot were untyed at first time, and another at the second, there's the *knot* of the question (if we may question for knots in trifles.) indeed that there was a Zona untied the Wedding night, I think it may be proved by those words of *Alcestes*.

* Decl. 35.

* Deut. 21. 11

Ὦ λέκτρ' ἐμοῦ πόσιος ἐν ᾧ λύω ζωὴν
Κοινωνὸν ἐς δόμους δ' ἐσδέχομαι—

And that there was another left to be untied at the time of child-bearing, I have reason to conjecture from the *Hercule-*

sword *ness*

ἄσμα γαμίου formerly mentioned, because (I suppose) they call'd it by that name in allusion and so much to *Hercules* his strength, as if they would have it the *faster*, that is the stronger ty'd, as to his happiness in making of children, as if they would have it the faster *marry'd*, as fast as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had seventy children just. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maids (whom we may call the *Children of the Bridegroom*) stood at the chamber door, and sung their ὑμέναιον or γαμήλιον, with as great noise as possibly they could, ἵνα ἐκ παρόδου διαλάβῃσι, καὶ τὸ ἄσαρκον ἐφ' ἡμῖν μὴ ἔξαίφνης ᾖ, saies the Scoliast upon *Theocritus*, so that if the Wife should *Cry out* (as we say) before her time, she might not be heard. Which they had no such need to doe, if that be true which they say, that one of the *Brides* friends, whom they called the παράνυμφος, usually did him that good office, to stand Sentinel at the door, and keep the women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not so much *wedded* to his *pleasure*, as to be clean *divorced* from his friends; for besides the feast which he made altogether for the woman (called θεοινία, by *Isæus* in his oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the ἑταίρους, as his father in law had done before him. This making of Feasts at Weddings was properly called δεῖπνα καὶ γάμοι, as it is in the Tragedy.

Pollux l. 3. c. 3.

Κ' ἄρτι δεῖπνα δαίσατε καὶ γάμους—

And a little before,

Ibig in Aul. v. 707. & 720.

Ἔστιν δ' ἑλοῦσι καὶ γάμους ἅμα.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behind hand at this kind of work; for they also kept a Feast of purpose for the the women besides. And therefore saies *Clytæmnestra* in the place but now cited,

Ἥμαρ γὰρ ἓν βέβληκε πᾶσι χαρμόσυνον·

The saying *augur dubij nubit, & domum mœsta*, to day Wedded, and to morrow sadded, would scarce hold true among them. For the day after the Wedding, the Mirth ran as fresh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the

house

house in pomp, a Boy in a white coat walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the rear, with suits of Clothes and all sorts of Houshold stuffe, as Spoones, and Cups and the like, a custome observed by the *Lacedæmonians* with so much pride and excesse, that *Solon* was fain to make a Law to restrain the Suits to the number of three, and the rest of the things to a lower price. The gifts then bestowed, they called ἐπαύλια (as those which I presented you before, were called ἐπαυλία) and sometime ἐπαυλοβόσια, as being that which (to speake in *Juvenals* words)

Primâ pro nuptiis datur— and such gifts *Medea* once sent by her children to *Glauce*. But so with a vengeance, as she made them ἄδωρα δῶρα, killing her with the Spit, from which she gave her the roast.

ἀ δ' ἁβρὰ νύμφη πέπλων τε καλλονὰς ἰδοῦσα καὶ
Νέον χρυσῆν &c. a Eurip. Med. v. 784.

And this puts me in mind of some that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing ἀγυιάτιν for the first, ἐπαύλια (when the garment called ἀνακαλυπτηρία was given by the Woman to the Man) for the second, and ἐπαύλια for the third. 1 Pollux l. 3. c. 3

CAP. VIII.

Quo tempore optimè ducatur Uxor.

THe time of the *year* which they deemed most lucky to Marry in (for almost every Nation has had their *Nefastos* time and daies) was the first Moneth of the Winter. (Clean contrary to the custome of the *Persians*, who thought it fittest to follow natures example, and set upon the worke of Generation in the Spring.) But though they chalked but one part of the year, I hope they did not mark all the rest with a *væ!*, neither can I think they had the same opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans had only of the Month of *May*, *Nunc Maias nuptæ*, Ovid. l. 5. Fast.

it may be *malum* by [b] *Plutarches* consent. The best day of the *Month*, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moon, that they might be *brought to bed* (as we say) the sooner, and grow the fuller themselves. But the best part of the *day* was the last, or the next to the night, and so they might *go to bed* the sooner. Just at these seasons *Thetis* in [a] *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be married to *Peleus*, as appears in those words of hers (and the Poets)

—— ἐν νυχομηνίδεσσι
Δι' ἐμοῦσαι ἔρχηται
Λύσιν τε γάμοιο ὃ-
-φ' ἥρωϊ πορσύνω.

But I make no question, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be *born in wedlock*. *Quarta Lunâ* as *Hercules* had, besides [c] *Hesiod* is of opinion that the fourth day (and I believe he meanes *initio* of the first third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, so that no *Oscinibus* bird did *obscevare* or *accinere*, *sing another song* to the contrary.

Ἐν δ' ἑβδόμῃ μὲν ἕρμαιον, ἔνη δ' ἄγαμον,
Οἱωνοὶ κρίνω, εἰ μὴ τι ἐγγυᾶν τύτῳ θέσεως.

Whereas the ἐνὴ μετὰ (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad again, especially for the Woman. But I must confesse, I rather incline to the judgment of the Goddesse, especially having [a] Agamemnon too (a man) on my side, who when the question was ask'd —— ἀπὸ δ' ἑκάτῃ γαμεῖ; made answer.

Ὅταν ἔλθῃσι τετράδι τῇδε πλέα.

When that blessed season of Full Moon shall come.

I do not find the *Romans* to have been so scrupulous as to think Marriage to be *imperfect*, unlesse it were at the *full*, or never to be as good as it should be, except it were *in Medio*, like the vertues. 'Tis true, the *Kalends* and the *Nones*, and the *Ides*, were dayes of another *colour*, black and unfortunate with

b Quæst. Rom. 8. 6.

a Ilium. H.

c Liv. l. 3.

a Eurip. Iphig. in Av. 717.

with the mirth of a Wedding; and so were all Holy-dayes whatsoever, and the reason you have given by [b] *Macrobius* in these words, *Ferias autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare est: Ideo tunc vitantur nuptiæ, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur*: To whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-dayes, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy-daies to any, neither *Religious* dayes (as they call'd them) to such as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *postridiani dies*, that is, the first dayes after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri*, were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which she could not do if she married upon the Nones. 'Tis true a *Widdow* might be suffered to Marry upon a Holy-day; (and *Varro* will tell you the reason) but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the Feast of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. Besides having of *non-liceat* dayes they had a custome to Marry onely upon such a day as by the judgment of the Astrologer (to whom they sought) *copulas nuptiales affirmet*. But so much may suffice concerning the *time* of Marriage. I proceed to speak of the qualifications of the persons to be Married.

b L. 1. Sat. c. 15

CAP. IX.

Quæ requirantur in Marito.

THe Conditions required in a Husband were these. First, he must be no stranger; for if it could be prov'd that he was; both his goods and he too were sold, and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly, he must be no lesse than five and thirty years old, according to the *Law*, and according to [a] *Aristotle* two years elder. But according to *Hesiod* a little younger, or a little elder is seasonable enough.

a Polit. 7.

Μήτε τριηκόσιον ἔτος ἐπὶ μᾶλλον πόλλ' ἀνακάπτειν

Thirdly if the Woman with whom he was to Marry, were ἐπίκληρος, sole Daughter and Heir (such a one as *Aristophanes in Vespis* calls ἐπιδικαστρίδα or ἀνεψιᾶν) he must be one of the same house, and the next of the blood. But then there always were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) some others of the kinred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the businesse with him and plead to the same; and then such Women were called δικάσιμοι, [b] and the whole suit Δικάζεσθαι. The question was wont to be decided by the *Praetor*. Lastly, he must not be one that had another Wife yet living with him at least he might not be so; upon pain of being accounted a fellow of *adulteresse*, or repute among the Citizens, for *Charondas* having made this Law, μήτε τὸν ἀπαίδευτον, μήτε μοιχὸν ἄρχειν μήτε τοῦ κοινοῦ τινὸς ἐπιβάλλειν ἀνὰ μνημονεῖον ἕνα ἑκάστοτε, *whosoever shall suffer indecency unpunished, let him be* ἄτιμος, *&c.* Besides the hurt done to the Children (it being as *good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a Stepdame*) gave one pretty reason more against being the *Husband of two Wives* in this sense, by way of *dilemma*. you shall have his words, as I found them in *Aristenus* his Ἀνεπίδεκτα φιλόσοφα &c. saies he, Εἰ' ἐπέτυχες τῇ γαμετῇ πρώτῃ, ἀμείνων ἐπαύσω τοιαύτῃ γε ἐντυχὼν, μεῖζον τὸ μὴ ἐπιτυχεῖν κακὸν, ἢ τὸ εὐτυχεῖν· ὃ δὲ τὸ τελευταῖον συνεγάμησε δυσμενέστερον ἄρχει ἐπὶ δυσκλείᾳ ἀφροδίσια. *If thou hadst good luck in thy first Wife, thou should'st have kept thee well while thou hast well: if thou had'st not, thou art little better than a Fool or a Madman, to stumble again at the same stone.*

[b] Pollux. l. 3. c. 3.

[a] *Macrobius Archiepis.*

CAP.

CAP. X.

Quæ requirantur in Uxore.

THe Qualifications required in a Wife, were these. First she must be *free*, before she put her neck in the yoke, for otherwise the Marriage was counted *ἄκυρος* rather than *γάμος*, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Hesiod*) *ἄκοιτις ἀλοχος* not *δάμαρ*. If she were a stranger, she must pay soundly for it, no lesse than a thousand *Drachmæ* to the City. This Law though it were for a time *let down* by *Pericles* his ill example, yet it was *brought up* again by *Aristophon*. Secondly, she must be six and twenty years of Age. And yet *Aristotle* even in b *Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen. Out of indulgence to the Sex surely; for else he thinks it very unfitting they should Marry so young, both because *τὸ τὰς τοιαύτας συνουσιάζειν*, &c. they travell with a great deal more labour, and labour for their travell with a great deal more intemperance, and also because he had observ'd that in those places where they used to make such haste, *ἀκμὴν ζώων τὰ σώματα*, the Puppies for the most part were blind, not so perfect, or not so bigge of stature as else they would be. But then there is another who would be willing to let them Marry a year or two sooner than he, *γυναῖκα γὰρ λαβὼν, ἀκμὴν ἔχοντα*. And another sooner yet (if I do not mistake)

Etiam ad puberiatem vestram transfer nuptias.

Thirdly she must be but one, and no more according to c *Athenæus*, and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reason of the scarcity of men to make the more haste for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine; whom they made use of only *ad tempus tantum* (for the present occasion)

b L. 7. c. 16.

a Hesiod. Oper.

a Eurip. in Hel. v. 13.

b L. 13.

sion) and that Children begotten upon such a Woman were accounted for γνήσιοι, as good as the best. And what will you say, if *Socrates* himself made use of this liberty? For I have read he did, and that besides *Xanthippe* the shrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Aristides*, of which two it is said, that upon a time they fell out, and were presently reconcil'd again by their husbands, who told them, it was a shame for two handsome Women as they were thus to fall out for one unhandsome Man. But [a] others there be again that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot see how the Etymology could hold water, πάτριον ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἔχειν, Unless you will have the man to stand out. [a] *Hermione* her self, though she were *super indufta* over *Andromache*'s head, did altogether dislike the increase of the number.

[a] *Rhod. Panathen.*

[a] *Eurip. Androm. v. 177.*

— ἐγὼ δὲ χαλῶ
Δοιὰς γυναικῶν ἀνδρὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν.

Which words of hers were presently seconded by those of the *Chorus*.

Ἐπίφθονον τοῦτ' ἐστὶ θηλειῶν γένος,
Καὶ ξυμφορωτὸν δεσπόταις μᾶλλον κακόν.
Such envious things the Women are,
That fellow-wives they cannot bear.

And verily they have been, not only by [b] her own example in conspiring the death of *Andromache*: but by the ordinary practice of other such Wives among the Greeks, especially in the Country of *Epirus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made use of Magical devises, especially such as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and so consequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way than [a] *pertæsum reddere maritis*. Thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as she suppos'd, and so she told the other.

[b] *Eurip. ib.*

[a] *Juven. Sat. 2.*

— κἀγὼ δ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐπεσπόμην τάδε
Νικῶσι δ' ἀνθρώπους ἀεὶ μὴ δίκαια.

When such courses as these are taken,

Turgida

b *Turpilia non prodit tibi ara pyxis Tyndi*, Neither the keeping of a Spider in a box, nor the faith of a paked *Lapis* can will do any good. Fourthly, he might be falſe a ſiſter to the huſband, ſo it be meant not *συμμητρος*, or *ὁμοπατρος*, or *uterina*, but only *ὁμογενης*, by the Fathers ſide, or *germana*, as the word is uſed by *Æmilius Probus*, (whether in its *germane* ſenſe I know not) where he ſpeaks of *Cimon's* marrying his Siſter *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio sororem germanam suam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore quam patrio more ductus: nam Athenienſibus licet cum patre natas Uxores ducere*, This act of *Cimon's*, *Athenæus* thinks to have been done παρανομως contrary to the Laws, and ſo in a clancular way. But *Plutarch* ſaies he did it in a publick manner, not only by making her his concubine to lye with him, φανερως, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning φανερα, but φανερως, taking her into his houſe to live with him, and that for a lawful cauſe, (as he thought) *viz.* becauſe ſhe was to ſeek of a Husband fit for her condition. But for all this, I do not ſee how he could by a Grecian well be excus'd for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike *barbarous*.

b *Juven.* ik.

L. 13.

——ubi cum matre pellex
Sæpe dormivit——

When Son is joyn'd with Mother,
Or Siſter with the Brother.

Unleſſe you will maintain the goodneſs of the practiſe *then*, by the greatneſs of the Perſon that uſed it before, I mean *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth and one bed, (when they pleas'd) Fifthly, ſhe muſt be no Baſtard, unleſſe ſhe were intended for a Baſtard maker, and in a *Proletarius* manner, only for *breed*, I mean for a Concubine: for ſuch I take to be little better than what *Talthibius* once ſaid poor *Caſſandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, *viz.* ἀνδρὸς Ἕλλην' ἀνακτος παλλακὶς, and the Children little better than νόθοι, if the Father were more in the dark,

a *Euripid. Troad.* v. 252.

As

As for the Portion or Estate, she was either ἐπίκληρος, one that had no Brother, and was Heir to the whole Estate: or ἀδελφεὴ, that had a Brother, and no more than her part or a portion. The greatest distinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a προῖξ, or a portion: insomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἀπροῖκος; yet he would have συγγραφὰς, the *Writings*, formally drawn up, however, to make the World believe the best. Those writings were sign'd and seal'd in the presence of witnesses, and the man did ἐκδοῦναι τινὶ γυναῖκα, make over to the Woman some House or Land in exchange, and this they call'd a *Harper*, ἀντίπροικα.

CAP. XL.

De Divortiis.

AND now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a month; once for every part: for they divided their Month into three parts, or else if he were an ἀπράγμων he might go to another, unless he were able to excuse himself by a lawful impediment. Such as coming from Funerals is accounted by b *Hesiod* in those Words of his: b *L. 1.*

Μήτ' ἐπ' ἐρανὸν νίσσεσθαι μήτε συναγείρεσθαι,
Τερπωλὴν γενέθλην,

Or by any other unseasonablenesse of time: for that they thought some times more seasonable than other, & some fitter to beget Men children than Women, may appear by the words of the same Poet, speaking of the first day of the middle part of the month:

Ἀρχὸν δ' ἀρρενόγονον, κούρην δ' ἐπὶ θήλεαν ἦμαρ.

And a little after of two other dayes.

Ἐσθλὸς δ' ἀρρενόγονος, οὐδ' ἂν θήλεα τίκτοι.

But if they were about any solemne Sacrifice to the Gods; be the time what it would, it could never be lucky for either.

And

and therefore at such times they used (as well as the Israelites) to abstain altogether, or ἀγνὰς ἔχειν, *purè habere*, as the Poet call'd it, *in Asinario*.

Si fortè puræ velle habere dixerit.

If a Wife that was an ἐπίκληρος were overlaid, or any way abus'd by her Husband, she might have a writ ἀπόστασιον ἢ ἀπολείψεως, otherwise called ἀποστασίου, and be suffered to leave him; and this they called ἀποπέμπεσθαι: whereas if the Husband would part with *her*, it was call'd ἀπωθεῖσθαι, because he might tarry in his own house, and be rid of her company nevertheless. But one thing I must tell you too, that for either party to *leave*, or to *put away* the other, was a thing always very much detested among the Grecians. Insomuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the custome was for so many Men and Women to meet in the darke, and every one to *buy his pig in the poke*, the Ephori impos'd a mulct upon *Lysander* himself for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. But ἀπολείπειν, for the Woman to separate from the Man, 'twas a thousand times worse than ἀποπέμπειν, even flat rebellion, or *delinquency* at the best. Hear but what b *Medea* saies of it.

a *Schol. in Aristoph. in Equit.*

b *Eurip. Medi.* v. 236.

—ἃ χὠ λυθεὶς ἀνηλλάγη,
ἔστιν δ' ὅπου σοὶ κἀπὸ τοῦδ' ἀνήνυτα πλέον.

Where she puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoyes before the Women, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poor *Wife* if she be well us'd 'tis true, ἔστιν ὅπου πλέον—*no life like hers* —ἢ χρή,—*but if ill*—ἔστιν ὅπου πλέον *there is no remedy but death* or *she had better be out of the life*. On the other side, what an honour they counted it to live content with one Wife, or one Husband in all: and what a disparagement it was to Marry a Second, not onely after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former, a *Euripides* will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alcestes*, thus threatning her Husband, if he married again, though she were dead,

a In *Alcest.* v. 464.

But was it so indeed as *Medea* complained, and was the Woman to be miserable still without any hopes of redresse! no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if she found the Conjugall yoake too strait, and had a mind to slip the Collar, she was to make her complaint to the *Archon*: who deputed other Judges to consider if the cause were lawfull, and so to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that she engage her selfe by Band, never to return to her Husbands house again; and when this was done, she might either have her Portion back again from her Husband, or else serve him with a Writ [illegible], or allow her maintenance, and so much a Month for use, as long as he detained the money.

CAP. XII.

De Mulierum sclerагogia, & servilibus ministeriis.

BUT now whether the Woman reckon'd it sufficient cause to complain, to be put to servile employments, I know not, such abuses as these were many times offered. I do not so much stand upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread; (whatever *Hecuba* has complaind of that imployment) but the basest sort of services, such as fetching of water upon their heads: which the poor old Maid in the Poet might justly make one of the saddest parts of her slavish condition,

a *Apud* Eurip. *Troad.* v. 193.

b *Id. in Electr.* v. 53.

[illegible]

It seems the Grecian Women their fashion of carrying water, was the same that ours is now, nay and the Roman too, for c *Ovid* saies of the Vestall Virgin her selfe (*Sylvia* I mean) when she went to fetch Water, and slept away her Maiden-

c L. 3. *Fast.*

head,

head, a good caveat for all sleepy servants)

Pondus & summâ sicilis surgunt Comæ.

And so likewise I did once conjecture that the men amongst them used to carry Water and other things too much in the same manner as they do with us, I mean with things put about their necks, because of that which the Poët saies of *Ulysses* his Mariners, when they took in fresh Water in *Sicily*.

—ἀμφὶ δ' ἀοχῆσι
Τὰς χυτροειδέας ἀμφὶ δοχῆς μεμαῶτες
Κρουνοὺς ἐξικάνον.—

Now whereas I mention'd onely fetching of water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doors, which belonged to the Men, for to them on the other side, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing beseeming to meddle with any thing within doors, or so much as to know what was done there, τὰ δ' ἔνδον τε καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπιμέλεια ἐδίετο γυναικί. It is *Aristotle's* own *Oeconomicks*, at least κατὰ δύναμιν, though not κατ' ἀξίαν (to use the words of *Tusanus* sometimes professor at *Paris*, who translated into Greek again, that part of the Book which concerns Man and Wife, the Originall being lost, and only a Latine translation of one *Arthetinus* left) And very good reason you will say there is, for *her* to be excus'd from labour abroad, that must keep so close at home, and yet *travell* too which close confinement made *Medea* thus bemoan the Wives condition *If any thing grieve her* (saith he) *she has no more company to make known her grief unto, than* μίαν ἐμαυτὴν, *her own poor soule. And whereas they object that the husband goes to Warr, and does this and that, I for my part,* (says she)

—τρὶς ἂν, τεκεῖν δυοῖν
Ἔτεκον ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ παρασταίην ἅπαξ.

—Three times to bear a shield
Thrice better do it think, than once to bear a child.

a Euripid. Med. v. 244. & 251.

And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or lesse, according to her Fathers liberality in her

Portion, and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache*, that in this she came *behind* her, though she were otherwise the first Wife: *my Father* (saies she) *sent me hither in a liberal manner.*

a Eurip. Androm. v. 153.

a Πολλοῖς γὰρ ἦλθον, δῶρα δουλείας πάρα.

With many a good thing. That having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too: Only you that brought nothing with you must goe out of doores. And *for that cannot pay, must be sure to pray.* This argument of hers, her waiting maid afterward *handy'd* back to her again, to put her out of her fear that her Husband would put her away. *For* (saies she) *he did not take you as a Captive, or so,* b Ὡς σὺν πολλοῖς ἦλθεν, *he had something with you.*

b Ib. v. 872.

CAP. XIII.

De Mulierum honestioribus opificiis.

THE employments most usuall and least dishonourable were seeing things handsome and neat in the house, and providing for the workmen abroad, take in *Electra* own words:

c Eurip. Electr. v. 75.

—Ἐγὼ μὲν ἔνδον δ' αὐτὰ χρῆν
Ἐξεργάζου, πάντα τὰ δ' ἔνδοθεν &c.

d Lib. Poll. 7. c. 10.

or else working at any kind of Lanifice, either at d ξαίνειν the tozing (shall I say) or the carding of the Wool? or κατανέμειν, when they went to spinne out the ἔριον or *flamen* and διαστέλλειν (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the rest of the Wooll, or last of all at ὑφαίνειν the Weaving and joyning the στήμονες together with the help of os the κερκὶς, (the *pectin* or the sley like a comb) and the ἄτρακτοι, or the λᾶες, smooth stones (like our smooth lace-sticks, that they might not wear) which hung at the end of the threds. The posture in Weaving was more anciently a standing, but at length (when they were weary) it came to sitting (with the Romans at least) excepting when they made plaine worke

a Serv. ad Aen. 8.

worke, *rella* as the Latines call'd it, down *right* with one thred a crosse and no more; for there was [illegible] too, and a great deal of variety in some workes, as well as several sorts of workes in the trade; which was the cause why b *Ion* in *Euripides* when *Creusa* told him of a Bearing cloth of her owne Weaving, askt her of what sort of making it was.

Πολὺς γ', ἀναξ, ἐπ' ἐργάταις ἐκάμετο.

Unlesse you will confine this [illegible] to the Virgins (as you may seem to have cause from the words but now produc'd) and the Wives and Mothers (or their servants for them) to the plainer work. As it is said, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas puerulæ boni ominis causa faliscis confici curabant*, saies *Festus* the parents among them would make their Children none but *plain Cloaths*, to shew they must use themselves to *plain dealing*. And seeing Weaving was a worke well beseeming the better sort (as appeares in *Creusa* the daughter of no worse man than *Erichthæus* a King of *Athens*, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra*, if she have put it among her complaints in that verse

Αὐτὰ δ' ἐμαυτῆς κερκίδ' οὐ πένομαι.

That she was kept to weaving. For (it may be) her complaint was, rather that she could not be her own Woman, and weave for her selfe, but must be still winning and never wearing, and starve in the Cooks shop. I must tell her thus much from a *Aristotle*, if she liv'd in a state of levelling Democracy, though she were a married Woman (as she was but [illegible]) that or any work else would have been thought too much to little purpose. For saies he in such a case, [illegible] she must be forc'd to do things her selfe for want of servants, and so there could be no such thing at all as *Gynæconomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all.

b *Ion* in *Eurip.* v. 14. 18.

a *Polit. l. 6. c.* 143.

CAP. XIV.

De Uxoribus & Filiabus Ocyoris.

NOw the Wives besides their γυναικωνῖτις, (their Bedchamber shall I call it, or their Attiring room, or their Dining-room, just as the men had their ἀνδρωνῖτις) had their ἐργαστήριον too, to worke in, as the Virgins had their παρθενῶν to play in, for I fear me, *vuidie chambres font dames folles* and ἀργαὶ γυναῖκες is of my mind.

b Poll. l. 1. c. 8.

c Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 737.

Κλῆθρ' ὑπ' ἐλεφαντόπηκτα μὴ μόνας λίπω δόμους.

That Maids *at home* should not be left alone,
'Tis true they were kept from *gadding abroad*. Insomuch that a man would think they had Sentinels set at their Chamber-doores, by the words immediately following the former,

Θύρωρός τ' ἐπὶ στόμασι προσπόλων ἔχειν.

And if their Daughters, not yet *put* fast in Wedlock, were kept so in safe custody, and as it were, in Prison, (for which their ἄθυρα, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a small amends) what strong guards think you would they put upon their Wives? when they *ye'd them* as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughters, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their a Poets!

a Aristoph. in Thesmop.

Τοῖσι μοιχοῖσιν πᾶσι μαχαίρια κεῖται.

—besides the seales
Upon the Women's Chambers, barres they lay
To make us sure, nay more, their massive cure
They keep to fright adulterers away.

No wonder then if the House-keepers of Athens, were *dogs*, House-dogs (as we call them) or *Keep-bowses*, when it was so

so hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. In which sense you may well take that of the same Poet in *Iphitrate*: γυναικὸς γυναῖκα ἐξάγειν. For if at any time they goe forth (as a great many of them were πολύπλανοι, of a gadding Gossiping humour) they must be sure to have the attendance of Maides, and their γυναικεῖα σκεύη, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were γυναικονόμοι (as they call'd them) officers of purpose, who had power to impose a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was posted up upon a certain plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But what do I talk of going, when as Fathers and Husbands, were so hard or so jealous, as not to suffer their Wives and Daughters so much as to look abroad, or if they were suffer'd by them they should be sure to suffer themselves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maid took up her Mistresse so short, when she went forth to gooses in a passion.

a *Pollux l.* 8. *c.* 10

b Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔνδον, μᾶτερ, ἀλλ' ἔξω δόμων
ἦλθες, ἵν' ἔνδον ἦσθα, καὶ τὰ σοὶ καλά.

b *Eurip. in Androm. v.* 876.

But, pray, get in, and shew not thus your self Before the house, &c. where I take not say, the translator was *Phrenetick*, to render φρενῶν, *imaginis*: but what ever he saies, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpose. Nay looking out at a window, was almost as bad as looking out at doores, as in Aristophanes (as the Women complain in *Thesmophoriazusa* * where you may read more of their grievances) if they did but peep out, they would be thought to do it, as other Women us'd to do: and to draw in their head again, the better to draw out the affection of the beholder. Nay further yet I fear me, some of the Daughters had scarce the liberty to

* *Aristoph.*

goe

goe out of one room into another, for so it was with *Antigone*, when she went up to the top of the house, to view the Army, as may well be conjectured by the words of her *Pedagogus* (a Tutor, such as to whom they committed the bringing up, of their Children, Maids or Boyes.)

Eurip. Phœniss. v 88.

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without *leave*, I know not. I believe they could hardly do it without *company*, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad: for to remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* saies;

The Womans own private chamber, *Gynæconitis*, *Gynæcunites*, or *Gynæon*, (call it what you will) was (saith *Didymus*) *Situs* two stories high, like a nest, to make it the harder to climbe up to them: for (to tell you in his words)

The people of ancient times, built their [illegible] their upper Chamber for the nonce. Ὑπερῷα and ἀνώγεα they called them then, insomuch that *Helena* having been always close bred up in such a Chamber, is thought by some to be said to be hatcht of an Egge, either from the *small* fashion of the Roome, or the like signification of the name in the Greek. Whether they went up by the Ladder, or a pair of staires, is not so easie to determine, as it was to get up, for when I call to mind what adoe the *Pedagogus* (whom I lastly mention'd) had to help up his pupil by the hand, I am apt to think that ἀναβασὶς from the *Parastasis*, and the other to the *Gynæon*, to have been a ladder, and not a staire-case; hear how she cries for help:

Such a βοήθεια had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no such need of help; for

Βοήθεια

Now a Woman if she went about any work that requir'd expedition, her fashion was [illegible] *Theocritus* saies, to be *nude genu*, to pin up her coat to her knees, but no farther, for fear of being taken for a doxie. Such a one as in *Hesiod* is called [illegible], me thinks not so well rendred *nates crurata*, as *ad nates succincta*, from the *stola*, too short to become the modesty of a Woman or the use of the word among the Latins. I might here take occasion to speak a great deale of their apparrel, and the other many ornaments which they used about their heads, their necks, their eares, their armes, and their fingers, and sweatty other sorts of this kind, but because there has been promised a draught thereof from a pen able to do it, I think it better to hold my hands. Besides, I am of *J. Pollux* [illegible] his mind in this, that for a good many of those names which we find in Authors, where they speak of this kind of things, [illegible] that we [illegible] what fashion the *things* were of; because it is hard to tell whether the Author be in jest or in earnest in the *names*.

[illegible] *Id. 14.*

[illegible]

L. 7. c. 2.

CAP. XV.

De Adulterio.

IF a man had plow'd in another Mans ground, though not as a *Manifestarius*, but by enticements, and in a clanculas way, and were taken [illegible] (as they call'd it) *in the fact*; it was counted so much the worse, and he that found him, might abuse him as much as he pleas'd: yea & kill him too, if the Cuckold did desire it, and no doubt, but sometimes he had *hag in his Horns*.) If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himselfe, he might have him before the *Thesmothetæ*, and cause him to be punished at the

[illegible] *Plutarch. in Bacchid.*

pleasure of the Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing an adulterer, had as little modesty as the crime it selfe. It was called either μοιχεία, or *impudice & lyntedebically* the part for the whole, for having pluckt off the hair of his privities, they threw hot ashes in the place, and thrust up a Raddish or a Mullet into his fundament; according to that of *Juvenal*, *Quosdam moechos & mœchas intrat*: insomuch that ever after he was disgracefully call'd μοιχός. A punishment little enough for so great a vice, so great I say, that *Solon* is thought to have tollerated the publick use of harlots, (as I formerly told you) of purpose to prevent it. And for the Woman, having thus violated the Lawes of the Gods (& of the men rather, for *they* were better) she was not onely forbid to go to the Temples, but if she went any where else with the ornaments and attire, which other Women wore, it was lawful for any that met her to take them, and teare them, and if her Husband lay with her after, he was branded for ἄνανδρος, *a base companion*. On the other side, if the Women were forc'd, and openly abus'd, the Adulterer's punishment then was no more than a *fine*. And you will not so much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you consider how the other commits Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman, and is so much the more dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in at a private way, than he that must break the door. For proof whereof, if the Adultery of *Ægisthus* and *Clytemnestra*, which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not sufficient, I refer you to that practice of *Tarquin*, who having on a time receiv'd an affront from *Drusus*, had no other way to be reveng'd. *Cruelta tentavit* (saies [a] *Tacitus*) *per uxorem ejus Liviam convincere, hanc ut assiduis ejus adulteriis pellexit, ad conjugii spem, consortium Regni, & ultrò marito impulit.* In like manner, if a Man had ravisht a young Woman, (if so she were free both) his punishment was a fine, viz. a thousand Drachmæ

[a] Ps. 18. 19.

[a] L. 4. Annal.

[b] Isæus pro Pyrrh.

Drachmas: but then besides that, he was to marry her too (unless it could be made appear that he had taken forfeiting of him in consideration) which may put us in mind of a story of the *Megarean* in *Pausanias*, who to compel *Euthydemus* to give him his Daughter to wife, knowing that he had brought her with child, and upon his evidence the contrary, kil'd her with his own hand, and cut up her belly worse than *Virginius*. There was a time when a ravisher of a Virgin was to be ston'd (shall I say, or prest) to death, for they called such a punishment λιθοβολησιν, as some upon these words of *Homer*.

Λιθοισι δε μιν φασγανοις τε βαλ' ηδε βελεσσι.

LIBER QUINTUS.

CAP. I.

THE Athenians (saies Plutarch in his *Marriage-exhortations*) had three sacred plowings. One in the *Scirus*, another in the *Rarie*, and another called *Bathyion*: but yet, saies he, ἀπάντων ἱερώτατος μὲν ὁ γαμήλιος ἄροτος, ἤγουν ὁ περὶ παίδων γνησίων, the plowing for Children is the best Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very fitable to a *Conjugal* condition) he agrees with the expressions commonly used by the Greeks of γαμεῖν, and ἄνεσθαι, and ἄνεσις, concerning the Women. For as [a] *Aristotle* saies in his *Politicks*, ἄνηρ παιδὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἄρχει πολιτικὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἄρχει ὅταν ἐξ ἴσου γένωνται also wish the use of the word ἄρειν for to marry, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedypus Tyrannus* ἀρῶν, & in his *Antigone* ἀρώμενος in the same sense. So *Aristaenetus* [b] in one of his Epistles (speaking of a Woman to be Married) saies ἵν' ἄρηται παῖδας. And *Moschus* hath an *Epigram* of purpose upon Ἔρως Ἀγρεύων. The Latin word *Satus* answers very well to it, and so would

[a] L. 7. c. 67.

[b] L. 1. Ep. 18.

would *Insitor* to the word ἔμβλαστος a bud, and ἐκφύσιμον, so commonly used in *Sophocles*, and other Authors in the same sence. Now for a Woman with child, it was sometime the custome for about forty daies before her time, to abstain from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Aristotle's* [a] advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to go every day a Pilgrimage a certain journey, to do service to one or other of the Gods of Generation, ἢ ἱκετεύοντας τὰς ἐκ τούτων τινὰς, and his reason was, that they might not ἐκλύεσθαι grow *unlusty* by sitting still, but by this kind of *travelling* prepare their body for a worse, as *Plutarch* saies, *Lycurgus* caused the Maids of *Sparta* to use the exercises of wrestling, and coyting, and shooting, and the like, that by this meanes having confirm'd their own health and strength, they might make the stronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐν ὠδῖσι, *wrestle* with the *throwes*. The principal God whom they pray'd unto, especially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them Εἰλείθυια ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν, from the readinesse to come to the Woman at a call, or a *crying out*.

[a] Loco prædict.

— *Aperire partus* [a]
Lenis Ilithyia. —

[a] Horat. Carm. Sæc.

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and a handynesse or *dexterity*, and willingnesse to perform, she was worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, *quoniam putarent facilè Conceptam alvum egerere*, saies *Festus*, and sometimes under the name of *Facilina*.

— *Facilina templa Diana* [b],

[b] Sil. Ital.

Either a *fave*, because she was painted with a Torch in her hand, (as if she did but *hold the Candle* to it) and so was *Ilithyia* by the *Greeks* ἐπὶ τῶν δᾳδουχούντων ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γάμοις, (saies *Pausanias in Arcadicis*) because the paines of a Travell are so *light*: or else from *facilis*, *ease* and *without difficulty to be made*.

Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis, [c]

[c] Ovid. Fast. l. 2.

being likewise

likewise for the same reason called by the Greeks [illegible] as by *Orpheus*, by whom she is also termed [illegible], and [illegible], and [illegible], because she stood still ready as it were *at the door*, and was always at *hand* to do the worke of a *hand-woman*—*in vero parturientis adiu.* Or lastly from *facilis exitus*, *and without pain*, because she gave the woman *facilem partum*, as he saies.

Ut solvat partus molliter illa suos.

For the same cause, they gave her also the title of [illegible], as the Latines did that of *Genitalis*.

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis.

To this purpose I remember a jest related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Ephesus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was born: *Non esse mirandum, quòd Diana occupata in adjuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravidâ domo abesset*: that it was no wonder, because *Diana* was taken up in helping *Olympia*. And yet this jest (as dry as it is) *Plutarch* is so far frō liking, that he saies it was *cold* enough to have extinguisht those flames. Last of all she was also called [illegible], *quasi* [illegible], saies the *Scholiast*, as much as to say *Lucifera* or *Lucina*. For by this name she was most of all adored by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid*:

Dicite, tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti:
Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.

Now this *Lucina* (saith Cicero) was nothing but the Moon: *Luna à lucendo nominata est, eadem est enim Lucina.* And the Moon being (as *Varro* saith) *naturalis dux*, was therefore worshipped by the wome in travel, *quòd partus maturescant sepiùs aut nonnunquàm novem Lunæ cursibus* or because the Moon by the *filling* and opening moisture of her influence *gravidis & partu offert, maturitatisq; gignendi*, as the Orator said in the same place. If you chance to meet with a *Plural number*, as you have in *Homer* —[illegible] Εἰλείθυιαι, and in *Aristotle*

d. Ib.

a *Aristoph. in Lucist.*

b L. 2. de Nat. Deor.

c L. 4. de lig. Lat.

ἄστρα Διὸς καὶ Διώνης, &c. you may take it to be in reference onely to several names of one and the same *Diana*, and in especial manner to those three, *viz. Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* above ground, and *Proserpina* beneath, in regard to which the Women among the Latins used to call her *Diva triformis*, in their prayers at the time of Child bearing.

Qua laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque letho
Diva triformis.

Diana should be a Gentle-woman by the number of her names. *Diana*, I said, for that was the ground, or the principal name: all the other names seem to be but the descant, or so many Epithets, and Surnames upon it. So in *Euripides* his *Hippolytus* you have

Τὰν δ' ἐλαχὺν Οὐρανίαν
Τὰν μεγάλαν Νύμφαν
Ἄρτεμιν,

In another Tragedy, Ἄρτεμιν λευκώλενον: and

—σεμνὰν Διὸς Ἄρτεμιν.

Artemis or *Diana* stands still the substantive, and all the rest hang like so many Adjectives. Besides these to the Moon, they talke of other Sacrifices to they know not whom themselves, whom they worshipped by the name of Τετραπάλους, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus* say some. So many windes says one[a] (that which is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables) But what have women to do with the Wind? it can blow them no good, but a *Tympany*: and so puff them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *Asmalcidæ*, *Protoclitæ*, and *Protogenes* and *Philoharmus* saies, they were the three first men that were begotten. And here I must tell you of somewhat to be done by the Husband too, for he was to sacrifice to the Nymphs, and to pray to them then for the bringing forth of the child, as he was afterwards to give them thanks for bringing it up. And thus much I conjecture by those words of *Orestes*, when one told him that

[a] Etymol. Dictionum.

that he saw Ægisthus sacrificing to the Nymphs.

a Eurip. Elect. v. 616. a Τοκεῖα μοῦσα, ἢ σοῦ μᾶλλον θ' ἕνεκ'; For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

CAP. II.

De puerperio, seu fœtu masculo.

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpose for that use I cannot tell; neither durst I conclude as much by the ἁγνὸν δόμων in b *Euripides*, where speaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he saies,

b In Bacch. v. 96. b ἐν τοκέων δ' ὠδῖσι νιν
Διὸς ἔκαμ' ἀγκὰς
Ἁγνὸν δόμων ἐς ἀνακτορίους.

At the time of travel, they were wont to take *Palm* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a virtue either to *conquer* the pain, (for a Palme branch was a token of *Conquest*) or to make them *bear up* under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a palm-branch go downward) according to that of *Theognis*:

—Δὸς τλῆθι φέρειν ἀκτὴν
ὠδῖνας δ' ἀδύνῃς χερσὶν ἔχουσα φέρε.

I do not read that ever before travel they stood in feare of such things as *Incubi*, and *Fauni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as St. *Austin* saies) suppos'd those Hobgoblins c *improbos sæpe extitisse mulieribus, & earum appetisse, ac peregisse concubitus*. Or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpose to sit up all night, one with an Axe, and another with a Pestle, and another with a Broom, cutting, and beating, and sweeping at the thresholds to keep a *Sylvanus* off her: I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it happened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the *building* of their house? (as the Hebrew phrase is) for *parvum viri fundavit familiam*, saies d *Apuleius*, such a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof κίονα δόμων, saies *Lycophron* of *Hector*, and τελαμῶνα γενεᾶς, saies *Pindar* of the same

c De Civ. Dei l. 15. c. 22.

a Ibid. 6. c. 9.

d Lib. 6. Mil.

lame, *Iphigenia* her selfe, when she dreamt of the fall of a house, could interpret the Pillars for so many Sons. For saies she,

Στῦλοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦδε δώματος ἄρσενες.

The Males are Pillars of a Family.

And very good reason the men should bear the name of the Pillars of the house, if the Pillars of the house can beare the name and the figures of the men. As they do many of them to this day. *Names* they made choyce of the best, such as Ἀγαθοκλῆς among the Greeks, and *Telamones* among the Latins; but indeed the *figure* was commonly of the worst, with a bunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibbosi*, according to that in *Martial*.

— *Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo.*

Besides in ancient time, 'twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar in stead of a *Statue*, or the image of a man.

CAP. III.

De Infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child so soon as it was borne, was washt in Water (or else in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedæmonian* fashion, and desir'd to *prove*, shall I say, or to *improve* the strength of the Infant.) Of this washing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphytrion* thus,

Postquam peperit pueros, lavari jussit, nos accepimus.
Sed puer ille quem ego levi, ut magnus est & multum valet!

[a] Plut. in Lycurg.

And so likewise in *Lycophron* (for I think it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he speaks of *Priamus* his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather than *Hecuba* her sister, and her sonne *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill τὸν τοκέων ἐς γενεὰν, the Mother and the Child, he did it saies he.

Ἡμῖν δὲ λοιπὸν περὶ χυτλῶνος λέγειν
from which verse (after I have started the question how he came to be called *Manippus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occasion given to tell you more of this matter. For the Scholiast notes upon the word χυτλῶνος, that after they had washt the body with Water (heated I suppose it was ; and used onely for the cleansing of the body) they anointed it with oyle, kept in a χύτλα, or a vessell so called, which they had for that purpose. The reason I believe to be the same, for which they did it at other times upon the elder sort, *viz.* ἵνα αἱ πύλαι τῶν πόρων κλεισθῶσιν
[a] *Is Aristoph. Plut.* καὶ μὴ ἐκπνέωσιν ἐκ τοῦ θερμοῦ ὕδατος, (as the [a] *Scholiast* hath it) to close up the pores again, after they had been open'd by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of anointing, was so constantly used just after the washing, that you shall have the word χυτλῶσαι, sometimes used to signifie the same, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Jupiter*.

—ἐπεὶ μάλα μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν κλάσις
Λύσσα πέλεται· μέγα δ' ἔστιν, ὃς ἐν πέλεται
Λύματα χυτλώσηται.

In allusion to this χυτλοῦσθαι [b] *Nonnus* calls the birth of *Bacchus* ἀχραάντου λαγόνος. For coming from so cleane a place as *Jupiters* thigh, he had no great need of washing.

[b] *L. 9. Dionys.*

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cunabulis, &c.

THE Child being waſhed, it was wrap'd in a cloth Woven for the purpoſe by the mother in the time of her Virginity, as may be conjectured by that which *Creüſa* made for *Ion*. In this cloth the *Erechthida* wrought the image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's Aegis*, by the help whereof *Perſeus* had cut it off. Beſides the likeneſſe of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Erichthonius*: who being born of nothing but *Vulcan's* ſeed ſpilt on the ground in foreing of the goddeſſe, and having feet like a Dragon was expoſed and committed by her, to the cuſtody of two vigilant Dragons.

—Ἐξ ἐρεχθεΐδαι τοι
Νόμος πόλεσιν, ὡς ἐς τὸ χρυσόκαρον
Τέκνων τίεσθαι.

Euripi. in Ion. v. 25. & 14. 17.

Saies the Poet: and from thence came the cuſtome I ſpeake of. And yet perhaps neither thoſe Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing elſe but emblems, uſed by the authors to expreſſe the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for ſo they are like to have been aſſigned for keepers of other things too, as of the apples of the *Hesperides* &c. & that becauſe of their quickneſs of ſight, according to *Feſtus*: *Dracones dicti ἀπὸ τοῦ δέρκεσθαι, quod eſt videre: clariſſimâ enim habebant oculorum aciê quâ ex cauſâ ſæpenumero ad theſauris cuſtodiæ cauſâ fixerunt.* Being wrap'd in the cloth inſtead of being put in a cradle, it was either lay'd upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in time of Warre: & thus was *Hercules* himſelf, and the *Lacedemonians* generally uſed; thus alſo the *Celtæ* uſed the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*.) or elſe upon a *Vannus* or *Ventila-*

Strabo l. 7.

brum quod alimentorum copia & bonitatis Symbolum conjectabant, saies *Rhodiginus*, as an omen of peace and plenty.

CAP. V.

De infantis gestatione circa focum, & de nominis impositione.

WHen the child was five dayes old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running; perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the house. At the same time the custome was for the Midwives to wash their hands. Now in token of *joy* for having a child, the Parents bedecked their house with Garlands: and in *congratulation* the kinred that intended to be at the *naming feast* sent their ἀμφιδρόμια *Dona* (as *Aeschylus* cals them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have used to do with us at *Christenings*. The things which they sent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepia*, whether as rarities, or for what reason, I am yet to seek. The verses of *Eubulus* cited by *Athenæus* c. 2. speaks as if those things were not kept till the feast, but us'd the same day, as likewise Doves, and Trusties and coleworts with oyle, and toasted peeces of *Chersonesus Cheese*, and I know not what: the whole ceremony of the day is called Ἀμφιδρόμια, and [illegible], or ἀμφιδρόμου ἡμέρα, διὰ τὸ ἀμφιδρομεῖν, from [illegible] at the hearth (which it seems was plac'd in the midst of the roome) or as wee may call it, *Dancing about any cold fire*, for wee read of no more but the hearth: but surely there must be a fire, for *Hesychius* saies, those that carried the child must be naked. The naming feast which I mention'd, was kept upon the seventh day after the Birth, saies *Aristotle*: and his reason is, because that day was observ'd to be very criticall to most things, τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν περὶ τὰς λοχείας, and therefore, saies he, when that day came, if they perceived the child to be well, *then* they presently gave it a name, ἐπιτιθέασι μᾶλλον τὸ ὄνομα, as presuming it

a L. 7. *de Hist. An.*

it could continue so. But (with reverence be it spoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth night rather) because the feast which they kept was called Δεκατη. and those which then sacrific'd (for that was to be done first) were said Δεκατεύειν, or Δεκατεύεσθαι: and at the same feast (saies Suidas) were the kinred wont to meet all together, to be witnesses (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Again, besides the authority of a Scholiast upon the word Λουτρα in *Avibus Aristophanis*, I have the plaine testimony of the Poet himselfe in the same Comedy in another place; where he brings in *Pisthetærus* thus speaking of Athens, in an allusion to the custome.

Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τάχα λιχὼ
Καὶ τὴν τροφὸν ἥτις ποτ' ἐστὶν ἀμφὶς δρόμου.

Now a Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of his children: but usually the eldest sonne was called by the name of the Grandfather. I cannot say that they kept this name and had no more: for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Proteus* when she came to be elder and wiser, assumed the name of *Theonoe*: thus *Leucippe* when she was bought, was new nam'd *Lacæna*, and *Ismenias*, *Straton*, when he became enslav'd. And indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all so they [illegible] presently gave them new, such as they thought fit. [illegible] from the Country, [illegible] or the colour and complexion, as [illegible] or [illegible], or some good quality in him, as [illegible] and [illegible], or else from the day or the time wherein they bought him, as [illegible]. At Rome the Master gave them a name of their owne: but 'twas when they set them free, and so a new name was a token of liberty too: or of something better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or some other good fortune; which made him in *Lucian* when an Estate fell to him,

a *Eustath. in Il. 5*

Eur. Hel. v. 13.
Achil. Tat. l. 5.
Eustat. l. 9.

Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 279.

See Rev. 2. 17.

to change his name from Saul to Paul: and they took new names when they came to be made Kings, among the Persians &c. or Gods, in every where besides, which appears in those names of Ptolemæus and Cæsares, and a great many more.

CAP. VI.

De Puerperarum Lustrationibus.

THE Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the first nights lying with her Husband) hung up her Zona to Diana Λυσζώνη (Cinxia you may call her in latine) and her clothes too (saies Callimachus) to Diana Λοχία. Untill she were purified, she was as carefully shund, as any Woman of the Jewes, insomuch that reckoning her among the μιάσματα they loathed to goe into the house where she lay, as much as if she had layen for dead: or if they had happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint, when they came forth again, they would be sure to wash, whence that of Diog. Laertius in the life of Pythagoras, ἐκ τε τοῦ μιάσματος καὶ τῆς ἀκρασίας καθαίρων which puts me in mind of Iphigenia in Euripides, when bemoaning the condition of Orestes, whom the Scythians designed for a Sacrifice to Diana, she spake her mind so plainly in relation to her curiousness, to have no body come neer her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a slaughter, or a funerall, &c. Idle (saies she) the hypocrisie of that Goddesse what ever she be, that shall take delight in the murthering of men, and yet notwithstanding an act of pure impurity shall forbid such & such to come neer her Altars:

a Iphig. in Taur. v. 380.

Ἡ λοχίαν, ἢ νεκροῦ θιγεῖν χρεών,
Ἢ τἄλλα μιαίνει, μιαίνει δὲ θεοκτόνα.

A saying so cutting to the folly of the best of the Heathen Theology, that it would have sounded very well from the

mouth

mouth of a Christian. For *Thucydides* saies, that the *Athenians* for feare the holy Isle of Delos should by this means be polluted, made a law, that no Woman should lie in for child there, but she must be removed to *Rhenia*, an Iland neer adjoyning. What day she was purified in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the question put in *Euripides*:

Ἆρ' ἦλθε τὸν τόκοισιν ἡμέραν;

Whether it were at the time of the ἀμφιδρόμια, the feast that was kept at the forty dayes end (for so many dayes she was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were ἐν δεκάτῃ νυκτί, when the child was a *tenne nights* old, (as we say a seven nights, counting nothing but the nights) for I do not think it is the tenth, *Attick*, I doe not well know: but *Electra* saies it was so,

Ἀλλ' ἐν δεκάτῃ νυκτὶ δὲ τεκνώσεται.

Whensoever the time was, the Woman, after she had wash'd away her λοχεῖα in the river (as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* so called from thence) she her selfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child: and her Husband to the Nymphes for helping him to such a Wife: or both (if you will) to return their thanks, that the child came in its due time. And this she calls τὰ νομιζόμενα θύειν. It may be in case of weaknesse, or if she were ignorant of rites (as she might be at the first) another did it for her, as *Clytemnestra* did for *Electra* upon her request. But indeed it should be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemnestra* her selfe confessed,

Ἀλλ' ἦλθε μαῖα δ' ἣν ἐμοὶ τεκνώσεται.

During her lying in, the greatest part of her food was cole-worts.

* Plutarch. in Arat.

Eurip. Electr. v. 11.28.

CAP.

CAP. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurses during the time of sucking, were called τιτθαὶ (from τιτθὸς the same that παπᾶς the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (ἀπογαλακτίζοντες) τροφοὶ dry Nurses. Now the custome was for the Nurses (the better to harden the Children *ad liberiùs* ἀπαλὰ, and to make the Nurses the more neat and cleanly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies, and in the streets: and in case they should be unquiet, the Scholiast upon those words of *Aristophanes*,

* *Rhodig. ex Plat.*

Νέρμα χοηλίστον. ἀπόφερε βαῦβαλον.

Saith, they were wont to have a sponge full of honey, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpose. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedæmonian* the fittest for a Nurse, (& such a one *Alcibiades* had himselfe) Or rather indeed the *Athenian*, Women were so proud, that they counted it a disparagement to them, to be Nurses themselves. And therefore the Woman in *Demosthenes*, when it was objected to her, that she had sometimes used that base imployment, was fain to excuse it by the necessity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. And so likewise you shall find *Hecuba* in *Euripides* complaining of her unhappinesse, that she must be forced to such an office as this was. When they would *lull* (as we call it) or *lull* a child asleep, they used *lullare* to cry λάλα, or βαυβᾶν, to sing songs to it, Their songs they called καταβαυκάλησις, and sometimes *nænia*. (for so is *nania* used in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius lib 7. Somno occupari ne possint leves audienda sunt nænia.*) such a kind of song is that in *Theocritus*.

Εὕδετ' ἰμὰ βρέφεα γαλακτοβόρω ἐνὶ λίκνω,
Εὕδετ' ἰμὰ φῶτες, τὸ δ' ἀνάπαυμα γλυκύ.

Οἱ δὲ

Ὀλβιοι ὑπναζοιτε ὀλιγοι ἀπαντες!

Sleep my little soules, &c,

For thus they were wont to κατευνάζειν to the child, calling it also sometimes νάνον or νανίον, or παιδύριον, and the like.

CAP. VIII.

De expositione Infantum.

BUt we shall have no need to trouble our selves to get Nurses, if the child either dye of it selfe, or be *exposed* to dye by the Parents. If it dye in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth, saies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold burial without any fire, or any funeral sacrifice or solemnity in Mourning or otherwise. As being (in the words of *Juvenal*) *minor igne Rogi*. Which practice is by *Plutarch* in his *Consolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to perswade her not to grieve for the death of her child, saies he, Sat. 6. Ἀ δὲ παιδὸς ἀποθανόντος ἀνηγνευκὼς ἀφείλετο πολύ. The custom of *exposing* children, which the Grecians call ἀπορρίπτειν, with the people of ancient times was very usual; it was exercised upon such Children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. We * read indeed that *Moses* was used thus, because he was טוב or a goodly child: but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, than *exposed* to the river. This practice was in most places at the pleasure of the parent. But at *Sparta*, I read, that they took better advice: for there they had a Committee of purpose called by them Ἀγέλαι, appointed to examine every child, whether it were ὑγιὴς καὶ ῥωμαλέος sound, or not. The places where they exposed them, were sometimes Rivers and Lakes, such as *Moses* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Unkle *Æmilius*, sometimes a sinke or a gutter, according to that in *Juvenal*. Exod. 7. v. 2.

 volâque

—*votaque sæpe*
Ad spurcos decepta lacus. Sometimes a deep pit, such as the *Lacedæmonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all, sometimes Woods and desert places, such as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* saies: *& in alta nemora pabulum misit feris Avidis* — and sometimes the wide Sea, as *Justin* saies of one *Habides*, (if that be his name,) *Gargaris Habidem nepotem suũ in mare projici jussit.* If a child were exposed any where upon the Land, after they had swathed it *vt's compagnons fasciis*, they put it in an earthen pot. Such a pot some would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria*.

—*verum vidi Cantharum*

Suffarcinatum. As if it were *Suffasciatum*. Whereas others would have you read it *Cantheram*, for an old Woman of that name, and *suffarcinatam*, for as much as *succinctam*. It is sometimes called ἔρκος, as by *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, where he speaks of *Oedipus* thus,

—αὐτὸν γυνάδιον
Ἐξέδυσεν ἐκ ἔρκου—

And sometime χύτρα, saies the Scholiast upon the same place, whence comes χυτρίζω *expono*. What kind of thing that ἀτώκτος was, wherein *Creusa* expos'd her Bastard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or whereof it was made, I cannot so well determine. *Euripides* saies it was ἄγγος a vessel, and that *Ion* the child was wrapt up in a skin, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

—ἀναβὶξας τὰντὸ
Εἰλαπίνη ἀτώκτῳ.

Me thinks it might be rendred *area*, and more properly so than *Adoses* ארון: for first he saies there was ταὐτὸ δερμάτινον skin or leather, roll'd or folded up, such as some of our Chests have. 2. It was fasten'd or lock'd of one side: ἀτώκτος ab ἀτὴ and ὠκύω, as our trunks are. 3. it was round also, and fit to be tumbled as he saies,

κἀκύλισεν ὡς ὀπώρισεν

Κοίλην τε λύτην & ὑπερέχουσι τύχαι.

And for ἄγγος, that will ſerve well enough for any ſuch thing, as well as *vas*, or a *veſſel*. If the child were expoſed on the Water, it was uſually put in a thing made like a baſket, made of oziers, or bulruſhes, dawb'd & clos'd with ſlime and pitch, ſuch as that we read of in * *Exodus*, But though they thus ſet him *out* to the mercy of fortune, they would be ſure to ſet him forth too, in the beſt manner they could with rings and jewels, and garlands, and many precious ornaments, either in a way of mourning, to do as they did to the dead, according to that * c. 2. v. 3.

— τὸν ὑπὸ σπαργάνοις & χλιδῶσιν
Τίκτει τροφαῖς ἐλεινὸν, ὃς δυσμήτορα. a Eurip. Ion. v. 26.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to find it ſo lying, and would * *take it up* (as they call it) he might have his τροφὰ, or τιθήνια, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand: and if it dyed, there might be enough for him, that would beſtow the paines, to beſtow the coſt too in the burying, according to that in * *Terence*. * Tollere. b Heauton. Act. 3. Sc. 1.

— *cum exponendam do illi, digito annulum*
Detraho, & eum ut unà cum puellâ exponeret
Si moreretur, ne expers partis eſſet de noſtris bonis.

Theſe μάγγανα, or *crepundia*, moſt commonly were faſtned about their necks, and were therefore called περιδέραια, as they were likewiſe called γυναῖκεια, for they were many times, bottles and bells, and ſuch like toyes. (and ſo you muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt ornaments & marks) becauſe they were for another end yet beſides the former, viz. ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῶνται (ſaies * one) not to adorn him, but to mark him ſo as to know him again, and to ſet the parents name therein, as we uſe to faſten collars and ſuch like things, about the necks of our dogs: and it may be the rattle-bels were faſtned to find him by the noiſe, as we do our Hawkes. For you muſt know, every child that was expoſed, was not expoſed with this in- * Dio Chryſoſt.

tent to be killed (as ſome would have *exponere* and *necare* to be little different)for many times they did it to hide it only, out of fear it would be killed, if it were not expoſed (as it was with *Moſes:*) and ſometimes (if it were a Baſtard) they put it out of purpoſe to have ſome body nurſe it, for if ſhe bred it up her ſelfe, every body would know it. Beſides, when they were expoſed with that intent, the parents for the moſt part had not their ends, for none have proved more famous men than ſuch as were expoſed, as might be made appear by ſundry examples. At the beſt, expoſing in my mind was very hard dealing, and therefore the *Thebans* (whom *Ælian* commends for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it, and ſo did the Romans too afterwards: among whom no expoſed child could be free of the city. And yet *Ariſtotle* could afford to preſcribe it, ἐκτιθέναι δεῖ τὸ γιγνόμενον πηρόν. But he was then in *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Phyſicks*, i.e. his natural affection. Our *putting out* children to Nurſe, many times proves little better than expoſing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country, where it might live in ſecret, and ſecure from an enemy, as *Oreſtes* did in *Phocis*, from the rage of *Ægiſthus*. And therefore *Sophocles* ſpeaking of his manner of life in his youth calls it κρυπτὸν βίον, & ſo you might have called him δύ. σου πατρώου, in the words of *Lycophron:* but enough of expoſing, I will proceed to ſpeak of the cuſtoms they uſed in education onely, becauſe their practice was different according to the birth of the child, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak a word firſt of the ſeveral ſorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

CAP.

CAP. IX.

De Liberorum diversitate.

ACcording to the Scholiast upon *Homer*, there were four sorts of Sonnes. 1. Ὁ γνήσιος, or νόθος, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀστῆς καὶ γαμετῆς, the Son of a married free Woman. 2. Ὁ υἱὸς, *qui Latinè reddi non potest*, saies * *Quintilian*, the son either of a forreign Woman, or a Concubine; such a Son, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to do with the name, or the Kinred of his Father, διὰ τὸ τὴν γένεσιν μὴ ἔχειν ἀξιόχρεον saies *Aristophanes*: * and if the case were thus when the *Mother* was a stranger, how just a cause had *Ion* in the Poet, to complain as he did?

* L. 3. c. 6.

a In *Avib. Eurip.* v. 591.

Πλουτεῖ τ' ἐπ' ἀκτῆς, κ' ἔστιν οἷς ἀφ' ἑστίας
Μολὼν, ἐμοῦ δὲ φίλτερον κεκλήσεται,

But if the Father were a Prince, or some great Potentate (if we may believe *Eustathius* upon b *Homer* concerning *Teucer*, who was a *nothus* himself) being *well* born he must needs be *lawfully* born, and so he was held in as great esteem as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance: *consuetudinis Regiæ fuit ut legitimam uxorem non habentes, aliquam licèt captivam tamen pro legitima haberent, ut liberi ex ipsa nati succederent*, saies *Servius*. Whereas the other must be pop'd along with a *portion* onely of a thousand *drachma* at the most: * this portion they called τὰ νοθεῖα, which they had in the nature of gifts, like מתנת which † *Abraham* gave to the sonnes of *his* concubines: it was the value of πεντήκοντα of five *mina* saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes in Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (*Jupiter's* bastard by *Alcmana* the wife of *Amphytrion*) when *Pistheteros* had told him, that being νόθος, by the Law he could not lay claime to the least part of his fathers estate, makes answer thus;

b Il. τ.

Harpoc.

† Gen. 25. 6. 6.

Τί δ' ἐὰν ὁ πατὴρ δῷ τι χρήματα
Τῷ νόθῳ;

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no Law against that, But the other reply'd again and confuted his answer, by urging *Solons* Law, which ordered indeed, that the νόθοι should μετὰ τῶν γνησίων have the estate shared among them in portions, but it must be onely for default of legitimate children, and not otherwise. This Law is mentioned by *Demosthenes* in his speech περὶ Μακάρτατου. Thirdly, Ὁ Σκότιος an *obscure* son, whose Father we know not: in Latine *Spurius* or *Favonius*, as if he were nothing but *terra filius*, rising out of the ground like the *wind*, or as if he were *begotten of the wind*, (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the help of a Father; like the egges which they call ἀνεμίας, made by the hens without the help of the cock In allusion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan* ἀνεμίαιον παῖδα, because they fained him to be *born* of *Juno*, but *begot* of the *Wind*, or they knew not whom. 4ly. Ὁ παρθενίας, ὃν τις ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν γαμετῶν παρθένον γήμας γαμετὴν ἐποιήσατο, saies *Pollux*, A *Son born in Wedlock, of a woman with child when she married, whom the Husband took for a Maid.* To these may be added, first, ὁ Ὑποβολιμαῖος or ὁ θετὸς, a *son* not *begotten*, but *made*, or *adopted*: of whom (it may be) I shall speak more anon. Secondly, Ἐλεύθερος *liber*, whose father was ἀπελεύθερος *libertus*, *made free*, and thirdly εὐγενὴς ἐξ ἐλευθέρου *ingenuus*, the son of ἐλεύθερος. Any son begotten by a Father in his old age, or the onely child, or the onely beloved, they usually called * παῖγνιον,

* 1 Poll.

CAP.

CAP. X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is said of Greece, that it took the best course in breeding up of Children, of any Country in the world. In so much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of Κεκροπίδος, by way of excellency above the rest. But how is it then that *Homer* gives the same to *Ithaca*, as *Cicero* does that of *Nidulus*? In *Aristophanes* his *Thesmophoriazusæ*, the *Praco*, calling upon the Woman, to provide to sacrifice to such and such Gods, among the rest brings in

Καὶ τῇ Κεκροπίᾳ τῇ γῇ.

But whether this γῇ here be *Tellus* in general, the Mother and the Nurse of the Creatures, or whether it be only *Tellus Attica*, *Athens* αὐτόχθων, the best Nurse of the *best*, I know not, but thus much is deliver'd by *Suidas*, *viz.* that *Erichthonius* the poor expos'd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankful acknowledgment of his education in that land, first sacrificed to this Γῆ Κεκροπίδος, and having built an Altar of purpose to her, made a Law that whosoever would sacrifice to any other God, should ταύτῃ θεραπεύειν, do it to her first. Well let us see a little what their manner of education was. They say the Children were usually taught πρῶτον κολυμβᾶν, λίνειν ϑ γράμματα, *first to swimme and dive, and then to read*, Very good method. If the Father was poor, he was brought up to a trade, if able and rich, to Philosophy, Musick, Gymnical exercises, hunting, and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in case his Father should come to poverty, he was not bound to maintain * him, as otherwise he was. Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintain'd by the greater sort in a lustfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were called their ἐρώμενοι *Pages*: all such *Catamites* or *Ganymedes* were usually called * πάλλακες, though I know

* *Plut. in Solon.*

* *Hesych.*

know, πῶλος and ζεῦγλη too, are frequently used by *Sophocles* and others, in no ill meaning at all.

CAP. XI.

De Puerorum Castigatione &c.

IF a boy at any time were refractory, and stubborn in committing a fault, the best means the Mother could use to perswade him to leave it, was to shew him her breasts, ἀνὶ κρείττονος ἐπιστροφῆς, saies the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as the most powerful motive she had. But the Fathers and the Masters took another course with him. If a boy had deserved to be whipt, he should be sure enough of his wages from *them*, for they tyed him fast πρὸς ξύλον, to a *block*, to make him *kiss the post*; or πρὸς κανόνα, *to a stake*, or *a pinne*, and so whipt him. And thus to be punished they called it δανείζεσθαι διὰ τὰς βασάνους χαλκοῦ, saies he in *Aristophanes*, which is rendred by *Frischlin*, *Distentus affigere humi*, as if they stretcht him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck, & armes, & leggs to pins fastned in the ground for that purpose, to keep him from striving. I know not whether this were the same as they called τυμπανίζειν, or κατατυμπανίζεσθαι. But I think that to have been rather the stretching or pulling off the skinne, onely *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drumme. Of which perhaps the Poët speaks when he saies. Ἡ βύρσα σῶν τεταύσεται, from the βύρσα, or the stoole, whereon they stretcht him or beat him, as they would a skin or a hide. That torture of one of the seaven brethren in the *Maccabees*, pulling his skin off his head, may very well be reduced hither. And indeed I doe rather think the true *apotympanismòs* to have been a torture or a rack exercised upon any by Tyrants, rather than a punishment of boyes and children by their Masters. For so *Aristotle* in the second book of his Rhetorick, saies that *Antiphon*

a *In Equit.*

b Ep. *ad Hebr. c.* 1. *v.* 35.

c *L.* 2. *c.* 7. *f.* 27.

d *L.* 2. *c.* 8. *f.* 38.

τύφου the Poët, was used by *Dionysius* the Tyrant. And in the sixth Chapter of the same Book, speaking of the want of all fear, in such as had already suffered the extremity of evils, he instances in those that are thus used, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀπτυμπανιζόμενοι. And so *Plutarch* in his book *de Adulatione*, cries out upon those flatterers of *Ptolomy*, that even πυκτανίζοντος, *when he was thus racking and torturing of men*, durst not open their mouths to dissuade him. But yet I believe also, that there was an easier kind of πυκτανίζειν when they would but beat a fellow with clubs, which they called πύκτανα, (if that be not rather the word for the block, upon which they suffered, for the Scholiast on these words of *Aristophanes* in *Plut.* Ω πύκτανα ἐμὰ κἀμοῦ——saies both τὸ ξύλον, *the wood*, which, and ὅτε, *with* which they beat him.) And that boyes were punished with such a thing, I have cause to think, from these words of *Plutarch* ἀπτυμπανιστὴν τὸν παῖδον &c. But to return to the punishment with the *Passalus*, I know the word φάσσειν in that Poët is more often used to expresse another manner of handling a man, by any body else as well as Master. For instance, in *Thesmophoriazusæ*, when one kept a great deale of noise, and would not be silent, another threatens him to put a φίμωτρον in his mouth.

—ἐμβαλῶ σοι
Πάτταλον ὃν μὴ σιωπᾷ.

Where the Scholiast saies he alluded to the trick (used with us also) of thrusting a stick in a Hogs mouth, when they would see whether it had τὴν χαλάζαν, the *Halle*, or the Meazles or no: nay in the Poet himselfe in *Equites*, you have one threatning to use another in this very manner. That fashion of tying the boyes to a stake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themistius*, under the name of φοινικοβαλάνου in his first Oration, where speaking of a *Plagosus Orbilius*, that used to *pay* the poor and Fatherlesse children to the purpose, because they could pay *him* no better, saies he, πωλεῖται δωρεᾷ φοινικοβαλανίου, &c. And so *Prometheus*, whom T. 24.

the Gods tyed to Caucasus-hill for stealing fire, is said by *Menander*, to have been περικεκαλωδισμένος, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks;

Εἶτ' ἀναπεπταμένοις ἐμβλέπων ὀφθαλμοῖς
Γείτων ἐπεμβάδην περὶ Καυκάσου.

Where he prettily pleads his cause, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for so small a matter. Nay the power of a Father over a child went farther yet. For first, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to do it, unlesse it were found in the act of adultery) any one might sell his child when he pleased. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had been faulty, might ἀποκηρύττειν τὸν υἱὸν, *abdicare filium suum*, turn him out of doors. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cause, laies *Demosthenes*: and then the κῆρυξ, or the Cryer, went about, and cryed that ἀπόκηρυξ, such a one did deny τὸν υἱὸν, such a one to be his Sonne any longer. He that was thus used, was said ἐκπίπτειν τῆς φρατρίας, to be rejected out of the Family, and was called ἔκφατος καὶ ἀφρήτωρ. If he were received into favour again, he was said ἀναγράφεσθαι εἰς φρατρίαν καὶ γένος, to be taken into the family again: and then he could never be abdicated any more.

a *Plut. in Sol.*
b *Lucian.*
c *Demosth. περὶ βοιωτοῦ.*

CAP. XII.

De descriptione in φρατρίαν.

THe Sonnes when they came to be three years old at the soonest, and seven at the latest, were carried by their Fathers to the φρατρία, and registred in the Tribe. But before they could be registred, the Fathers were to take their Oathes that the children were theirs: and yet notwithstanding the Oathes, those heads of the Tribe if they listed, might question the matter, and put them to a suit in * Law. The time on which this was usually done, was the third day of the Feast Ἀνθεστήρια. Which was so called, either according

* *Demost. περὶ Μειδίου.*

ding to the Etymological dictionary, because the sons, which before might be thought ἀπάτορες (a), to have *no Father*, did now make it appear, who the Father was. Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, because at that feast, οἵ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ ξυγγενεῖς ξύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the fathers met altogether: and so it must be call'd Ἀπατούρια, in that manner as a wife is call'd, ἄλοχος, for ἀλόχευτος, or ἄκοιτις, for Οὐδάκοιτις. where A is στερητικὸν, & not a privative, as likewise in ἄτεκνος, and many other such words. The third day of the feast was called by the name of Κουρεῶτις, ἀπὸ τοῦ κείρεσθαι, as who would say a *Shearing-feast*: because at that time they used to *cut their hair*. The hair which they cut, they called μαλλὸν, or βοστρύχους, or τὸ πένθιμον πλόκαμον, in opposition to τὸ ἀνάθετον, that which they cut at a funeral. This *lock* (as I think it was) they had nourished of purpose till that time, and consecrated to the honour of one of their Gods: as may appear by the practice of *Bacchus* himself: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing else to dissuade him, but to tell him it was *sacred*, (like the lock of the * *Nazarites*.)

L. 1 Ελλην.

a Ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος τῷ θεῷ ἐκ βρέφους τρέφω. a Eurip. in Bacch. 494.

Num. c. 6. v. 5.

And thus *Theseus* is said to have consecrated his hair to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The hair thus cut, because it was the first time that ever they cut it, and because it was done by way of an offering, they called κόμας ἀπαρχὰς, *the first fruits* of the hair, (for the word both English, Greek, and Hebrew, is appliable to any thing that is first.) Such first fruits of his Beard b *Nero* put into a Golden boxe, which he adorned with pretious jewels, and laid it up in the Capitol.

b Sueton. c. 12. ejus vita.

If the children were of a noble bloud, they would go as far as *Delphos* to give it to *Apollo*. But if others, some to one God, and some to another (I think they had their choyce, for there were Gods enough of conscience) at *Rome*, beside *Apollo*, whom still one or other was careful to supply (notwithstanding his own *Intonsum caput*, and his long hairy beames)

Hos tibi, Phœbe, vovet totos a vertice crines, Martial.

Æſculapius, was remembred too: For *Statius* ſpeaks of one *Earinus*, that ſent his hair to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious box beſet with Jewels, and a looking glaſſe beſides,

Mar. Ep. 9.

——dulceſque capilloi,
Pergameis poſuit dona ſacrata Deo.

How was it then that the Veſtal Virgins hung up theirs upon a *Tree*, which *Feſtus* ſaies they kept for the purpoſe, by the name of *Capillaris*? The Nuns, the Veſtal virgins of theſe times have no ſuch need, they have Gods and Saints enough, and to one of them they beſtow a *love lock* for *entrance*, as I have heard it reported. But let me not run on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is aſſerted by ſome, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and divers others ſay, that this regiſtring in the Tribe book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteen years old, and the enrolling of them into the Ἀνδρικὰ γραμματεῖα at eighteen: according to that of *Pauſanias in Eliacis*, where he ſaies, that after they were eighteen years old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boyes any longer. But as yet, I dare be ſo bold as to be of a contrary mind. For firſt, *Proclus upon Plato's Timæus*, ſaies, that when they went to be regiſtred, they were πρεσβύτεροι παιδὸς, three or four years old, and there is my authority. 2ly. *Cnemon in Heliodorus* ſaith, he was regiſtred as ſoon as he went to School, which is like to have been ſooner than at fifteen years old: and there is my example. 3ly it is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Regiſtring they offered up the *firſt-fruits* of their hair: and it is not likely they ſhould let it alone till fifteen years of age, and there is my reaſon. But, *Si quid novisti rectius &c.* it is all one to me.

CAP.

CAP. XIII.

De ascriptione in Ephebarum censum, et in album Lexiarchicũ.

WHen they came too be eighteen years old, ἀπόλλωνι ἐν πατρῴοις, they were listed among the number of those that were ἔφηβοι *puberes*. And to this purpose they had certain Officers appointed to search them to see whether they were so or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they called it) φυλακὴν τὴν ἐν ἄστει φύλαττειν, to keep Guard, or doe service in the City, (of which hereafter.) This search or examination was called δοκιμασία. If they were found to be *puberes*, sound wind and limb, and like to prove Souldiers, they were led into the Temple of *Agrulus*, where they took a solemn oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the Gods and the Country. The time when this was done, was upon Κυρίαις too, and that may be the occasion of the difference I lately spake of. Neither were these later rites performed without cutting of hair too. But commonly the fashion was, either then, or at any other time but the first, to consecrate their hair, not to this or that God, but to the rivers, especially such as belonged to the Country they lived in πρὸς ἃ γεγαμίσεις ποταμοῖς. Thus much may be gathered from [b] *Pelias* his *vow* to consecrate his hair to the River *Sperchius*, if *Achilles* returned in safety: and [c] *Memnons* performance of the like to the river of *Nilus*: so (as * *Paul* shaved his hair at *Cenchrea*, upon the like occasion,) The Nazarites, when *they* cut their *hair of* * *consecration*, were to make use of the contrary Element, and to throw it in the fire. But amongst the Greeks the custome of paying tribute for their hair, when they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principall cause of life and growth) was very usuall both in men & women, especially in times of mourning, when they cut it most. I remember *Helena* in *Euripides*, where she bemoans the condition of the

Schol. in Hom. Il. ψ.

[b] Pausan. in Att.

[c] Philostr. Act. 18. 18.

* Num. 6.

poor *Trojans*, and the said fruits of the Warre, speaks of such a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamander*.

a *Eurip. Helen. v. 372.*

Ἀπὸ ϑ' ἁβρὰν κόμας
Ἔδοσαν ὀχγυιαι παρϑένοι
Σκαμάνδρου ὁμοῦ ῥεύμασιν ἱδρῶτα.

Unlesse you had rather think it was done (according to the custome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I should have told you that before they cut their hair, (I mean when they went out *Ephebi*) they first took a vessel of Wine (οἰνοχόον οἶνον, saies *Hesychius*) and having consecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there present. This ceremony, they called τὰ οἰνιστήρια from the Wine. And here it may not be amisse, to mention the distinction, which you shall find in the Poets of two several waies of cutting of their hair, in use among the Greeks. The one was κουρὰ, when they did but pare their hair, as they would do the borders in a *garden*: the other called ξυρὸν, when they shaved it so close to the skinne, that they made the head look like a σκάφος, a *Skiffe*, or a boat. When they came to be two years *puberes*, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἥβωντας, (as *Demosthenes* calls it) or twenty years old; εἰς ἀνδρῶν ἐγγραφὴν they *wrote men*, or they became *sui juris*, and their names were registred by the *Demarchus* in his ληξιαρχικὸν λεύκωμα, in *Albo Lexiarchico*, a book wherein he kept the names, of all those that belonged to his *Demus*. It had this name παρὰ τὸ λήγειν, (or λήγειν) ἀρχῆς, because as soon as any one's name was written therein, he might be *master* of an estate *himselfe* if he had it. Besides this book, there was πίναξ πύξινος a table of box-wood, wherein every one was to set down of what *Demus* he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the women, they were not wont to be entred into any tribe, till the time when they came to be married, and that in the moneth of *Gamelion*, wherein the men were entred in the Month of *Pyanepsion*.

CAP.

CAP. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumnis prabenda.

WHen the Father came to *age*, or *neceſſity*, if the Son refuſed to ſupport him (unleſs he were a *nothus*, or had not been bred up to a *calling*) he might be ſerved with a Writ γραφὴ κακώσεως γονέων, and if he were convicted, his puniſhment was to be excommunicated all Society, both ſacred and civil, and to be fined a mulct beſides. This maintenance and ſuccour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not onely to his Parents, but to any friend elſe, to whom he owed his education: and thence it was called τὰ θρεπτήρια, and θρεπτήρια, or τροφεῖα, in Latine *Alimenta*. This debt they reckon'd themſelves ſo ſtrongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and grieved for nothing ſo much, as to die before it was paid, according to that in the Poet, *Iliad. δ'*.

—ἵ τοκέσι
Θρεπτήρι' ἀπὸ δώσειν ἀμοιβὰ μητρὶ τε καὶ πατρί· οἱ δέ μιν ἄλγε'
Ἐπλεσ'—rendred by *Val.* [a] *Flaccus* thus. a *L.6.*

—*me reddit acerbo*
Nutrimenta patri brevibus præreptus in annis.

Inſomuch that the Parent might very well ſay to his children [b] *Non eſt beneficium quod poſcitur, ſed facinus quod negatur*. And indeed I muſt needs ſay thus much for them, I have found them for the moſt part, very careful to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in uſe among them, *viz.* If a Father had been any time abroad, when he came home again, the Daughters themſelves, preſently fell to waſhing his feet, and anointed them with oyle, ἵνα τὴν κόπωσιν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ γέροντος, ſaith the Scholiaſt, inſomuch that *Euphron* (ſaith he) thought that *Homer* had uſed the b *Quintil decl.6* a *In Ariſt. Veſp.*

Epithete λιπαρεῖς for the feet, in allusion to this anointing. (it may be) they used to kisse them too (as *she* did the feet of our Saviour) for so saith he of his Daughter in *Aristophanes*.

—ἡ παῖς μ' ἡ θυγάτηρ
Ἀφορίζει, ἡ τὸν γόν' ἀλείφει καὶ προσαλαται φιλεῖ.

Eurip. Med. v. 133. For the Children thus to maintain their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to *feed* the *old ones* like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word γηροβοσκεῖν, and so *Medea* uses the word to her children at parting

—ἔχετε πολλὰς ἐν ἡμῖν γηροβοσκίας πατρί.

Next to the charges of *maintaining* the parent when he is *old*, are those of *burying* him, when he is *dead*; and those to be born by the Sonne too. And therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay down that life in *his* room, which being then very old, he must shortly leave in his *own*, *Well* (saies he) *I am to be reckoned but a dead man, & you for your part, are not like to have any more sons now*;

a Idem in Alcest. v. 664. a Οἱ γηροβοσκήσουσι καὶ θανόντα σε
Περιστελοῦσι, καὶ προθήσουσ' ἐκφορᾶ.

That will you *feed*, and shrowd your head,
And *Lay you forth* when you are dead.

And now that we have brought the man so neer his end: we will shew him what course he is to take for the disposing of his estate, only because if he should have no children at all, or none such as they should be, there might be a doubt what to do; I will speak a word of that first.

CAP. XV.

De adoptione, testamento, & hæreditate.

Isæ. de Arist. IF a man had either no child at all, or none that was γνήσιος, *free born*, he had power * to adopt him a *neerer*

or

or any one else. And this was to be done after the manner of a Will, sign'd and seal'd in the presence of the Magistrate, as their wills were wont to be. Whosoever was thus adopted, must first be made free of the City, and then be ascrib'd into the Tribe (or fraternity) of him that adopted him. But this last was to be done upon the feast of Θαργήλια in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. Having thus left his *old* Tribe (which they were not bound to do among the Romans) he was not to return to it again, till he had begotten a child in the *new*. As for the mans estate it passed to another, either κατὰ γένος *by descent*, or κατὰ διαθήκην, *by virtue of a will*. Now by *Solons* laws (for before their estate could not be convey'd but to those of the kinred) a man might make any body his heire of any estate, that he had, which was not in controversies but with these six qualifications. First he himself must be no fool nor Mad-man. 2. No prisoner, so as to make his will against his will: for then it could be no Will. 3. No stranger: for then his estate went to the common treasure. 4. No adopted man: for such a ones estate if he wanted a child, was to pass to the * next of the Adopters kinred. 5. Not perswaded thereunto by his Wife: for such a one (saies my *Author*) μαλακχεται δοκεῖ, *is little better than a mad-man*. 6. Not having a male child of his own, for then the inheritance should go to him. And if there were more males than one, they were to be ὁμοιμοι, *copartners*, or *joynt-tenants*. But in case he had no male child at all, and died without a Will, the estate fell to the next Male of the Kinred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had, were not γνήσιοι, *free born and legitimate*: the Daughter was to be ἐπίκληρος, or μονοκληρονόμος, sole heir. And therefore *he* in *Aristophanes Avibus*, told *Hercules*, *Minerva* could not possibly be ἐπίκληρος to *Jupiter*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate sons:

Demost.

Demost. ad Leothar.

Id cont. Olympiodorum.

—πῶς ἂν πάτερ
Ἐπίκληρον εἴη τὴν Ἀθηναίαν δοκεῖς:

Οὐκοῦν δικαίως ἂν τοῦτο ἐλάμβανε γυνή,

I say this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her, became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not go beyond πλήθουν κριθῶν, six bushels, (they say it is) or the value of such a measure of Barly. He to whom the estate did passe, by what way soever it were, was forthwith to make his claim to it before the Prætor: which thing they called ληξιν ἢ ληξεις, or ἐπιδικασίαν τῶν κλήρων. And if any one would παρεμβάλλειν, lay in any thing to defeat the claim, he was to prosecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I shall therefore endeavour to shew him how to have that done too in the amplest manner; onely first, I will satisfie him of the necessity of having a burial.

Isæus de Aristarch.

Demost. contr. Stephan.

CAP. XVI.

De necessitate sepulturæ.

I Remember *Cicero* in *his Topicks*, divides justice into three kinds, *unam ad superos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem*: of the second kind of justice *viz. to the dead*, I do find every where among the ancients so religious a care, and such sacred esteems of a *burial*, that sepulchers were called *templa*, and the rite of a funeral acknowledged and called to be τὰ νόμιμα by the Greeks, as well as *justa* by the Latins. Insomuch that the *Athenians* had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance upon the carcase of another, whosoever it were, he should be bound to cast earth upon it three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turfe,

Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 5 c. 14

(n) *Horace l. 1. Od. 28.*

—*Capiti inhumato*
Particulam dare.—

The Romans (it seems by *Quintilian. Declam. 5.* observed this

this custome exceeding well, for (sayes he) *Ignotis cadaveribus humanum congerimus*, & *insepultum quodlibet corpus nulla festinatio tam rapida mansuetis, ut non quasi locum, venetur aggestu.* And if any one omitted the duty, he must take satisfaction by sacrificing a Sow-pig *porcam præcidaneam* (as they called it) to *Ceres*. But the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* in *Antigone* goes farther: αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἐφορᾶν τὸν ἄταφον ἢ μὴ ἐπικαλύπτειν χοῦν ἐπιβάλλοντα. Whosoever saw a dead body, and did not put the dust upon it, was not onely a breaker of the Law, but ἀναθὲς, a *sceleus*, an *accursed devoted fellow*, *anathema*, (for what should the body do any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὰ ἄταφα, *inanima*, saies the Scholiast upon * *Euripides*, and πολὺ προσέχουσι τοῖς ὑπὸ γῆν, very much feared that the Gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to them were above ground. No greater imprecation to an enemy amongst them, than ἀκήδευτον χοὸς, that *he might not be covered with the Earth*. Methinks I see † *Hector* upon his knees to *Achilles* as he was ready to stab him; and ‡ *Ajax* in his prayers to *Jupiter* (before he fell upon his sword) earnestly beseeching them not to suffer their bodies, when their soules were removed to be left behind in the lurch, to be meat *for the dogs and the birds*. Hence surely it was, that the ancients stood so much in fear of a death upon the Sea, or a shipwrack because of death: for there they could never be interred.

Demite naufragium, & mors mihi munus erit.

saies *Ovid*. Insomuch that when they went to Sea, or at least when they feared to be *cast away* (as we call it, for there if the Soul be gone, we have lost the body too) their custome was to fasten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him, that should find it, and bury it, if it were cast a shore. Φησὶν δεῖ τιμὴν ἐπάρασθαι τὸν ἐν ναυαγίῳ εὑρόντα, ἢ περιχεῖν ἐξ ἀναβάτου τοῦ εὑρόντος χοῦν ἐπὶ αὐτὸ, ἵνα μὴ ἄταφόν τι ᾖ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπων; Sayes *Synesius* in one

* *Festus. c. 14.*

* *In Helen.*

† *Homer. Sophoc.*

of his Epistles. Moreover not onely if a corps were not buried at all, but if it were not buried as soon as possibly it could, it was counted ἀσεβὲς πρὸς τοὺς νεκρούς, as if they had offended the *manes*: whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it εὐσεβὲς πρὸς τοὺς νεκρούς, that they had done them a pleasure. You have those two words used by the Scholiast, upon the saying of *Homer. Iliad. 7.*

—ἐπεὶ ἔβαν ἀσεβὲς πρὸς νεκροὺς ἀποινα θέσθαι.

Alex. ab Alex. l. 3. c. 7. *Patroclus* is said to have been angry with *Achilles* for such a delay, and how true it is which one sayes, that the bodies were kept fourteen dayes and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I do not yet find.

CAP. XVII.

De ter vocanda anima, & de Cenotaphiis.

BUt next to the happinesse of *being buried*, was that of being *buried in their own Country*. Insomuch that if a Man died so farre from home, that they could not come to the *body*, they were woont with solemn and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, τρὶς ὀνομάζειν τὸν νεκρὸν. —*manes ter voce vocare* (as I may say) *to give a hallow for the Soul*: which they thought was still *quick* enough to come to them. *Pindar* sayes, that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying at *Colchis*, desir'd *Pelias* to see this office perform'd for him.

a *In Pyth. Od. 4.*

—χρὴ νιν ἐν δόμοις
ψυχὰν πομπαῖς ἀγεῖν—

And so *Ulysses*, after he had lost threescore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, presently made it his businesse (sayes *Homer*) —τρὶς ἕκαστον ὀνομακλήδην νέκυν ἀποκλαῦσαι, *to weep for every one three times*. As *Theocritus* sayes of *Hylas*, τρὶς μάκαρ Ὕλα. In *Virgil* he is named but twice.

Il. 13, Ecl. 6.

—*Hylam nauta quo fonte relictum*
Clamassent; et litus Hyla, Hyla, omne sonaret.

Doubt-

Doubtleſſe they would have been glad, to believe their bodies alſo might be rolled under ground, into their native Country, as ſome of the *Jewes* do think theirs ſhall into the land of *Canaan*. And yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themſelves, it could be to little purpoſe. For as I remember, one in *Ariſtophanes's Ranis* ſaies concerning the dead,

Οἱ ἂ γ τρὶς κλαγγῆτε ἐξεπύθοντο. *Helen. v.* 1562.

They are gone ſo far οἴχονται (οἶχος *to go* is uſed alſo for *to dye*, we ſay a man is *dead, and gone*) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But muſt this be all? can there be no way elſe to honour the man, unleſſe you can finger the carcaſſe? yes, he ſhall be kept ſafe in a Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. Such a Monument they called Κενοτάφιον; and to bury a man thus in *effigie* (as I may ſay) κενοταφεῖν, as in [a] *Euripides*.

Ὅτ' ἐν ταφοις πεῖς δὴ κεῖνα κενοταφῆ.

The Scholiaſt upon the ſame Poët in *Hecuba*, gives a full teſtimony of the cuſtome, ſaying that, Εἰώθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸ ἐνταφιάζειν τὸν κενοτάφιον ποιεῖν, κἂν ἐν ἄλλῃ τῇ γῇ τελευτήσῃ, χώσαι τὸ κενοτάφιον εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἑρμόσαι, though the body were buried in another Country, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave. *Nonnus* calls this *Cenotaphion* κενόσειον, from σεῖον a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Æneas* made for his Father. —[b] *Tumulum Rhateo in littore inanem*

Conſtituit— [c] *Progne* for *Philomela*.

—*& inane Sepulchrum.*

Conſtituit.— The *Pythagoreans* for thoſe *qui à Philoſophia ſua deciviſſent*, (accounting them *as bad as* departed out of the life, that had departed from their *principles*) The *Athenians* for all thoſe that died upon the Sea.

Οὐ γὰρ ἔθαπτον ὅτου πόντου κύμα πίοι

Θέσαι— ſayes the Poet concerning *Helenas* husband. 'Tis worth our labour to read the ſtory, what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a ſuit of clothes in a

[b] *Virg. Æn.* 6.

(c) *Ovid. l. 6. fab.* 8.

beer, as if his body were there, and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drown it. If it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed between *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

Theoc. Τί δ' ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν θανόντα, ἢ δάφνη στεφεῖ;

Hel. Ἔθαψαν ἐν τάφῳ, ἵν' ἦν πόντῳ δέσποτ'.

Theoc. Τί δῆτα, κενὸν εἰ πομπεύσουσι νεκρόν;

Hel. Κενοῦν ἐν πέπλοις δοκήσεως.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an *empty* beer, in pomp, and a burial, in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the stateliest manner that might be. For with this provision for his burial, he in * *Aristophanes* comforted himself and his friend ὁ Κορυνθιαδὴς Ἀγὼν· and what need I say more of this? It was a common thing every where as * *Ovid* sayes. *Et sæpe in tumulis sine corpore nomina legi.*

* *In avibus.*

* *L. 11. fab. 10.*

CAP. XVIII.

De mortui mutilatione, & iis quæ in homicidiis fieri solebant.

THe customes used in *Athens* upon the dead body were different, according to the different wayes by which he came to his end, *viz.* Violent, and Natural. And first of the customes used in a violent death. If the man had kill'd himself (ἀπὸ τοιχωρύχου) they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the rest of the body. So saies *Cæl. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him so. In diing or (falling down) Men and Women, but especially the Women were exceeding careful, that they might not discover any thing that was not to be seen, but δυσχήμονα πεσεῖν, as *Euripides* saies of *Polyxena*. If *another* killed a man, he that killed him, if he thought that he had done it justly and in a good cause, though he washed his hands after it (as they would do after killing any other Creature) yet he used to take

take the ſword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the bloud on it, ἐπιδεικνύναι τὸ ἔργον πεπραχότα, (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Oreſtes*) to ſhew that he fear'd not if heaven were witneſſe, & all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjuſtly, inſteed of *ſhewing* the bloud, he wip'd it off in the hair of the party ſlain: ἀπὸ ἀποτρεπτικοῦ τοῦ μύσους ἐπὶ τὴν κόμην (ſayes the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *averruncare*, to abominate, *and wipe away* the *abomination* of the fact. But if it were ὁμόφυλος and ἀγχιστεὺς φίλος (as he ſayes) i. e. *if the party were one of his own Tribe or kinred*: he could never wipe it ſo clean, but ſome would ſtick. And therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they provided amulets and ſpells to keep them off. And what better thing than a part of the body it ſelfe? for having that in their power as a hoſtage, to do what they would with it, the Ghoſt of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or elſe would ſpare the bearer for love of the carriage. And therefore as ſoon as they had ſlain him, they cut off all the *extreme* or *outmoſt parts* of the outmoſt members, and ſewing them, or tying them together wore them under their arme pits. The *extremities* thus uſed they call'd ἀκρωτήρια, and ſo uſe the body ἀκρωτηριάζειν, ſo as they call'd it likewiſe, if they did but cut the *tops* of the *eares* when a man had committed a fault, ſaies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*, which may more properly be called λοβᾶσθαι, from λοβὸς the lap of the eare. Though that word, and λωβᾶσθαι, be alſo uſed for as bad uſage as ἀκρωτηριάζειν: unleſſe you will ſay this was properly ſaid to be done, when they killed the party quite. Thoſe ἀκρωτήρια, are ſometimes called ἀπάρχυατα or ἐξάρχυατα, as in *Apollonius*, where he ſpeaks of *Abſyrtus* his being thus uſed by his ſiſter *Medea*.

Soph. in Electra.

L. 4

Ἠρὼς δ' Αἰνείδης ἐξάρχυατα πάμπρωτα δαΐφρων,
Ἡ δίμοιρ' ἀδίνησι δολοφραδέας ἰκάνει.

And ſometimes μαχαίρωσις from μαχαίρειν, the ſame that ἀκρωτηριάζειν; becauſe oftimes they hung thoſe pieces of the body

ὑ πηχέων to their armeholes, of which *Sophocles* speaks thus,

Τὸν δ' ἐκ δεινῶν ἄτιμον ὄντα δαμάσαι.

Eurycaid.

But if he had kill'd the man by treachery, he hung those pieces about his *neck*, and taking some of the blood, spit three times in his mouth. This fashion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noses, and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in use likewise among the Romans: not onely upon men *slain*, (as *Quintilian* sayes, *truncas partibus suis umbras*) but when they did not kill them out-right: according to that in *Virgil. Æn.* 6.

Atque hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora, manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhonesto vulnere naves.

C. 1. v. 7. That practice of *Adonibezek*, which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *Acroteriasmus*, as this was.

The usual punishments to be suffered by him that had kill'd another were these. If he had done it unwillingly, he must fly his own Country and get into another, (as the Israelites were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*.) Being there, he must betake himself (saith the Scholiast) εἰς τινὸς οἰκίαν ἀνδρὸς πλουσίου, into some great mans house that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not coming as an ἱκέτης, or Petitioner) and there set him covered by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) καθαρσίων δεόμενος, to expiate the fact, and purge himself of the pollution. If the party were one of his own Tribe or kinred, he must tarry out of his Countrey a whole year at the least. [a] *Eustathius* sayes antiently they suffered them sometimes to redeem their liberty with a fine of two Talents of Gold. But afterward, it seems to have been otherwise: Insomuch that a Murtherer was not onely forbid χέρνιβας νίπτειν, or ἱερῶν μετέχειν, *to participate in their Sacrifices himself.* But every Body else (of his own Country was forbid to receive him into his house. Nay the

Joshua c. 20.
[*] *On Homer. Il. O.*

[*] *Schol. in Eurip. Hip.*
[a] *Lib. 18.*

they might not be allowed to *ſpeak* to him: as thinking him ἀνόσιον πρᾶγμα, ἰσόθεν, ſo unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* ſaies ὁ θάνατος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχει. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, out of *Callimachus*, ſaies that among the *Theſſali*, they uſed to drag him about the grave, where the party was buried whom he had ſlain, as *Euridamus* did *Symon* for killing his brother *Thraſymus*. Il. X.

CAP. XIX.

De claudendis oculis, pulſandis ænis vaſis, & amiciendo corpore.

IT was the Cuſtome among the Greeks, as well as among the Jews and the Romans, when a man was a dying, or his Sun was a ſetting, as they uſed to ſay, —ἅλιον ἄμμι δύνει, to have his eyes cloſed by the Parents, or the next of the kinred: and they call'd it συγκλεισμὸν τῶν ὀμμάτων. The performing of this ceremony by the *Kinred*, was ſo much valued, that it was bewail'd as a very great unhappineſſe, to dye in ſuch a place where a mans friends could not be preſent to do it. as *Ulyſſes* ſaies. *Theoc.* Il. O.

—ἐ γὰρ οἱ γε πατὴρ ἠδ' ὁπλότατα μήτηρ
Ὀσσε κατοπτήσουσι θανόντι—

If a *man* died ſuddainly, ἀπόλλυται (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*, if a *Woman* to *Diana*. I know not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, that juſt at the time of death, they had a cuſtome likewiſe to make a great *ringing* with *veſſels of braſs*, (*Bells*, ſome render it) to fright away the Hobgoblings, and Furies from the Soul. For ſuch a kind of ſound (he ſaies) is ἐπῳδὴ καὶ ἀπωθητικὴ πολυμόρφων of a ſpecial virtue for ſuch effects. But elſe I ſhould rather imagine it to have been done for the ſame end, that a Roman *Conclamation* was, viz. to try whether the party were but Il.

dead a sleep (not *dead and gone*) and so to awake him with the noyse, as they were wont to do to the Moon in an Eclypse, when they thought her asleep. The eyes being cover'd with the lids, the face was next cover'd with a cleath: and that by the next of the Kin too: for *Hippolytus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his father to do it.

Eur. Hipp. v. 248. Κρύψον δ' ἐμ' ὄμματ' ἐξίστασθε δ' ὑμεῖς τἀχὼ νόμοις.

And indeed the whole business of stretching out and shrowding the body, belonged especially to the next of the Kin. And therefore *Cassandra* in *Euripides*, endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better than that of the Greeks that besieged them, saies, That *they*, having the happiness to dye at home among their friends and kinred, were

Χερσὶν στείλασαι φίλαις ἐν ἐχθρᾶν γαῖᾳ.

Shrowded by whom they ought, their Kin. If a Father or a Mother died a Widow, the children did it. And so *Medea* tels her Children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to her self.

Eur. Med. v. 1036. Καὶ κατθανόντα χερσὶν ἂν στείλαι νεκρόν.

If the Husband died, the Wife did it. Which happiness the Greek Souldiers could not attain, if they dyed at Troy.

Troad. v. 177. —ἢ δύμαρτος ἐν χεροῖν
Πέπλοισι συστείλασα.

If a brother, the sister. Which made *Orestes* when he was to suffer death among the *Scythians*, a great way off from his home, cry out so pittifully.

Id. Iphig. in Taur. Οἴμοι, τίνες δ' ἂν μ' ἄλλοθεν χεὶρ στείλειαν ἄν.

A lack! how shall my Sister shrowd me now?

CAP. XX.

De ossâ Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.

[a] In vita Numæ.

THe body being dead, began from thence to be *Sacrum*, *sacred*, those that are dead are called ἱερὰς by [a] *Plutarch*, & the

the graves themselves ἄγια ἐστὶν by *Lycophron*, as soon as the body was in. *Sacred* I say, that is not to be injured, far enough from *holy*, insomuch that if a man had but toucht it, πανῶ δίχα χέρνιβος (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any *holy* thing after, till he had washed, as πάγκοινος, as a Jew. Touche did I say? when *Hippolytus* lay a dying, *Diana* would not so much as stay and *see* him dead, for fear of pollution.

Καὶ χαῖρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐ θέμις θανόντι δρᾶν,
Οὐδ' ὄμμα χρώτῃ θανασίμῳ πελάζεται.

The same may be said of the graves ἀνοσίους τόπους, saies *Hesiod*, for ἄγια they were not, but only in this sense, that they were ἄθικτα, not to be medled with, as some would have it to be meant by that of the same Poet,

Μηδ' ἐν ἀγυιαῖσι κτενίζειν—

Insomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Quæst.* saies, that those men, that out of pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pomp, before they dyed, were not fit to bear the name of ἁγνοὶ themselves, the whole performance of the ceremonies which used to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Æschylus*) ἐκφορά, as the *elation* or carrying forth, was called ἐκκομιδή. The ceremonies were these. First they took a piece of money above a half penny (twas dearer there than at *Rome*) & put it into his mouth to *speak* his *fare* to the πορθμεύς, or Ferriman, *Charon*: the piece of mony was called by the name of ὀβολός. because it was given τοῖς ὀβοῖς: which signifies the *dead*, from ὀβὸς *dry*, because of their *dry bones*. I remember the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite:

—ὦδε τὸν λίθον,) saies that there was a stone which the Poet fain'd to be ἐπὶ τῶν ἀβῶν, *in the place of the dead*, call'd by the name of *Avarus* ὅτι τὰ ἀβῶν πάντα ἄγονα ἐστὶν, *because the bodies of the dead must needs be as dry as dust.*

Together with the money they threw in a morsel of pud-

Eur. Hipp. v. 1437.

ding or past, or Cheese, to give to *Cerberus* to stop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. It was usually made of flower temper'd with honey (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly μελίτωμα, and μελίτωτὰ ἠρίστα τοῖς νεκροῖς ὡς τὸ Κερβερῳ, saies *Suidas*, such a kind of thing *Æneas* is said to have given him, when he visited the dead.

Æn. 6. *Molle saporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam*
Met. l. 6. *Objicit.*

Apuleius speaks of more pieces than one, *offas polenta mulso concretas.* & saies, they were to carry a piece in each hand The Poet in * *Lysistrate* us'd it but in the singular number,

* *Aristophan.* —— ὀπτὸν ἔνδον
Μελιττωτας ἐγὼ ἐξ ἁμάξης.

It may be the same Poet alluded to this custome in those words of his in *Pace.*

Ἵν' ἅλφιτ' ἦτε νῦν δ' ἀμυνόλης.

CAP. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo ferali.

IF the party deceased were free of the City, the ταριχεῦται (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowels, and with heated water, which they put into a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpose, washed the body: as those * did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her *in the upper room.* This λῦμα σωτήριον (as *Electra* call'd it in the poet) was a thing accounted so necessary, that *Socrates* (as it is in *Plato*) when he intended to drink his own death in a health, thought it best to set about it himself aforehand, and save the Women a labour: Ὅπως γυμνώσω πρὸς τὸ λοῦσθαι, ἵνα μοι μὴ βέλτιον ᾖ νεκρὸν λοῦσαι. Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alcestis*, when she intended to die for her Husband. Saies the Poet

* *Acts c. 9. v. 37.* *Eurip. v. 157. Electra.*
a *In Phædone.*

Poet [b] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθε τὴν ἡμέραν ἣ χρεὼν
Ἦν αὐτὸν ἐκ δόμων ἐκπέμψαι νεάνιν ἄγαν
Ἐλέσθαι.

When she perceiv'd the day appointed near,
She wash'd her self in river water clear.

[b] Eurip. Alc. v. 116.

In allusion to this custome * *Iphigenia* in her dream, fell a washing one of the pillars of the ruined house, when she fancied to see.

Τὸν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς ὡς δαίμονα.

* apud Eurip.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Son, and concluding the death of that son by the washing of the Pillar. To this washing, (it may be) alludes that expression of *Strepsiades* to his son in *Aristophanis nubibus*.

Πάρα τὸν ὄρθριον δ' ἐμοὶ λουτρὰ μὴ 'στὶν βίον.

He casteth aspersions upon my life, & washeth me as if I were dead. This work was indeed proper to the Women, but in case of necessity others might serve. And therefore in [c] *Galen* you shall find the *Cynicks* themselves a washing poor *Theagenes*, because he had neither wife, nor child, nor chick of his own to do it. Having washed the body, they anointed it with ointments, & poured *Ambrosia* upon his head and face, as *Homer* saies, *Jupiter* bid them do to *Sarpedon*,

[c] de Method. Medendi, l. 13. c. 15.

Χεῖσαν τ' ἀμβροσίῃ, —

Il. 11.

Having done this, they wrapt the body in a fine garment, woven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or some other friend for the purpose: having also τὰς ἐντάφιας bands or lists of cloth, to tye the hands and the feet withall, such as * *Lazarus* had. *Feralibus amictibus obstrictus*, saies* *Apuleius*. The colour of the Shrowd (if my memory fail not) was white among the Grecians, but black with the Latines.

Homer. Odyss. 1.

* John c. 11. v. 44.

Metam. l. 10.

CAP. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuis. De vestibus, quibus corpora ornabantur, de lecto, & de collocatione.

HAving thus cloth'd him with his Winding-sheet, and his στέμμα: next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἵνα τοῦτο τοῖς τεθνεῶσι ἐφάρμοττε, ὡς τὸν ἐπὶ τέλει δρομεύσαντι, saies *Suidas*, *as they would do to one that had run out his race, or fought it out*: and with the like signification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for the same reason: for cakes were given for rewards, as well as Garlands. In allusion to these Garlands, *Eustathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Son, makes him say, πῶς στεφανώσω σῦν ἀλύτοις, *how shall I crown thee with my tears?* an example of this practise, you may see in *Euripides*: where *Talthybius* speaks to *Hecuba* to do it to *Astyanax*, in the absence of his Mother, thus.

L. 10. *Ism.*

Eur. *Troad.* v 1143.

—στέμμασίν θ' ἅμα νεκρὸν
Στεφανοῖς θ' ὅσα σοὶ δίκαια, δίδου τὸν σὸν.

Artem. l. 1. *c.* 14.

After they had done this, they set him on the ground, with his *feet* outward toward the *gate*: as being never to put his foot in the house again. Then they took him and put him into a couch or a bed (λέκτρον) to be in a readinesse to be carried to his bed, for so *Lycophron* calls the grave δυσκλινὲς, as it is likewise termed κοιμητήριον, and so the dead are called εὕδοντες, and κατακεκοιμημένοι, for death is a long sleep, as sleep is a short death. The couch was also adorned with Garlands made of all sorts of Hearbs and Flowers, (as * *Euripides* saies) ἵνα χθὼν καλὰ φέρεται στεφάνωμα, but especially of Olive, which they used in victories. Having thus adorned it, they *placed it*, or *set it forth at the doors*, as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was, —ἀνὰ πρόθυρον τιτυσκόμενον.

In Hel.

This placing of him they called τιτύσκω, *collocari*, *Laying forth* (as we call it) as it is in *Alcestis*.

—ἐξ οὗ ἐκδίδοται τὸ τεθνηκὸς.

During the ἐκφορὰ, and all the time till the ἔκθεσις (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth, *efferebatur*, ἐξεκομίζετο, as S *Luke* ſaith, (whether out of the houſe or the City) there ſtood at the door, a great earthen veſſel filled with water, which they fecche from another houſe, for the people to waſh in, that came in and out. This veſſel is called by *Heſychius* χύτρος, by *Pollux* ἐφέδρανον, and by *Ariſtophanes* ἐφεδρὰν in that * place where he ſpeaks of the λήκυθοι too, that is the Pots for oyntments, wherewith they anointed the body, as likewiſe of ſtrewing of *Origanum* (they ſay it is for good hearts *origanum tueri*) and of Vine-branches, for what uſe I know not, unleſſe it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of anointing, or elſe to make the Torches of them: for of ſuch ſtuffe Torches were commonly made: as *Euſtathius* ſaies ὁ φανὸς was ἡ ἐκπυρωτὶ λύχνου λαμπὰς. And ſo our Poet in *Lyſiſtrato* calls it † ἀμφίλαφον φανὸν: pray take his own words, for the great pot of Water, the leſſer pots of oyntment, and the Vine branches together.

Τροχίσκους μὲν ἀφεῖτε † δεηθέντε
Καὶ χλαμυδ' ἀναβάντες συγκάουσιν τὴν ἔξω
Καὶ τοὺς λίνους ἐμοὶ φαμίλους τοὺς λήκυθους
Ὑδατός τε κατὰ δεῦτε τὸν χοῦν † δεῦρο.

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alceſtis* (*verſe* 99. Jone makes a doubt whether the woman were indeed buried, as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe he could not ſee any ſpring water πηγαῖον χέρνιβα (as he calls it, for ſuch it ſhould be) ſtanding at the door as the cuſtome was.

The waſhing it ſelf was called λοετρὰ ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, like the Iſraelites βαπτίζεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, which we read of in *Eccleſiaſticus* cap. 34. v. 25. and in *Numbers* c. 19. v. 11. The Romans uſed *Suffitionem, a perfuming of the houſe*: for they thought the whole houſe polluted, where there lay but a dead body by the wall. And ſo did the Greeks too, as may appear by thoſe words of *Helena*, and the Poet.

* *Euripi.*

* *C. 7. v. 11.*

* *in Eccleſ.*

Κλαυ-

a Eurip. Hel. v. 1446.

a Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δῶμα· κ' οὐ θανὼν
Ψυχὴν ἔσωσε Μενέλαος—

Our house is clean, for *Menelaus* here
Lost not his life—

CAP. XXIII.

De ritu efferendi & portandi corporis.

THe best time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day, and not in the night. And this I gather'd by those words in the Poet, wherein *Cassandra* the Fortune-teller, threatning *Talthybius*, told him his fortune to be buried in the night, (clean contrary to the judgment of many now a daies, who make it an honour, for the better sort,) saies she

b Id. in Troad. v. 446. Il. 11.

b Καὐθ' ἡμέρᾳ τάφοισι τοὐμὸν ὀστέον
Κρύψεις, ἐπ' ἠοῖ φαεσφόρῳ.

Therefore the next day after the *Collocation*, before Sunrising (*ὀρθρίοις ἐφοδίοις χρησάμενος*) saies *Homer* in the funeral of *Hector*) *at break of day*, up the Corps is mounted, and carried along most bravely ἄνω ἐπὶ πομπὴν κατασκευάζουσι (saies * *Lucian*) in pomp, as if it were intended for a *shew*. Now it was carried (saies the Scholiast upon *Homer* οὐκ ὄπ' ἄλλης τινὸς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ὤμων, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. but upon mens shoulders up aloof ἀέρθην, as *Euripides* calls it, speaking of *Alcestis*, where he speaks also of φίλιοι Servants, (I should have thought the bearers had been some of the kinred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

* De Luctu.

φίλιοι
Θέμενοι ἀέρθην φῶτα πόσιν τ', ἐξ πυρᾶς.

a Eurip. Alc. v. 607.

In the like sense he uses the word ἀερθῆναι in another Tragedy; where speaking of *Rhesus* his being *trudg'd* away to be buried by his mother *Terpsichore*, when *Ulysses* had slain him.

Τὸν νυκτὸς ἐξ ἁμαξῶν δι' ὀπῆς, ὦ Σατίδες
Τὸν τεθνηκότ' ἐν χεροῖν

φοβη-

Φονίδιον πίμπου—

If the party dyed of a violent death, especially in a fight, they used to carry forth Spears and other arms and armour along with the Corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funeral of *Pallas*.

—*Hastam alii, galeamque ferunt*—

And it is likely they held those Spears at the wrong end too, as the custome is with us at the burial of a Souldier, and as *they* did then

—*& versis Arcades armis.*

As the Corps was a carrying forth from the Porch, it seems that they used some speech or other, as to the party deceased, either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernal Gods, to whom he went, or to bemoan his departure, for it may well be conjectured by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Phera* concerning his Wife.

[a] Τιμᾶς γ' οὐδὲν δεῦρ' ἔρχεσθαι, δοκῶ,
Περισσὰ δ' ἔξωθεν γ' ὀδύνας ἐμοὶ πάρα.

[a] Eurip. *Alc.* 608.

Those that accompanied the Corpse, and were invited to the funerall, sometimes went on foot, (if it were one whom they honoured very much) and sometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick [b] person, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorned with Garlands. In going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walk stately before the Corps, and the [c] Women (but not unlesse they were threescore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a πίναξ about her; whatsoever that was.

[b] *Diog. Laert. L.* 10.

[c] *Dempst. ad Meurs.*

CAP. XXIV.

De *Ministerio Funerarum & Siticinum.*

a See Ierem. c. 9 v. 17.

TO set forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jews had [illegible] and the Romans *Præficæ*, so they also had their singing Women of purpose to lead the dance, ὀλοὸν, or θρῆνον ἐξάρχους, as * Homer calls them; or ἀνδρήϊα as *Nonnus*. And since vocal Musick might be allowed, I marvel very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife should be so strict against any instrumental, either with the Harp or the Pipe.

* Il. Ω.

Eurip. Alc. v. 430.

Αὐλοὶ δ' ἐμὰν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ μολπάνων κτύπος
Ἔστω.

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of all harmony according to that of *Macrobius*: *Mortuos quoq; ad sepulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel religionum ratio fuit, atq; hanc persuasionem hac, quia post corpus anima ad originem suæ cognatæ musicæ, id est, ad cœlum redire creditur*, indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing ἐπὶ κιθάρᾳ, in such times of mourning, because it was an instrument consecrated to the service of *Apollo*; for *Pæans*, and such merry songs (as the reason is given by the Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phœnissæ*, κιθάρᾳ δ' ἀναύλοις) but for the *Pipe*, I never knew but that they might sing ἐπ' αὐλοῖς: for else why were there *tibicines* Pipers among them? as there were *Siticines* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funeral, brought along with them κόσμον, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands or to put upon the corpse; such as *Admetus* in [a] *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before.

[a] In Alc. v. 630.

Κόσμον δ' ἐὸν ὑπὸ γᾶν οὐκ ἐᾷ σ' ἰὼν πάτερ.

I have some cause to think that some of those εἰδωλα, which they carried, were the *Images* and the *Arms* of the family of the party deceased (for such they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the Funeral. And if so, then those ὁπλα ἀνδρικα * (neer the place above quoted) said to be carried by those which followed the corps, may be translated *imagines*, as well as *grata munera*. Or if it must needs be *grata munera*, it must be meant to the *gods* of the dead, and not the *dead* themselves. * *ib. v.* 612.

But yet after all this, you may do well to take notice, of a great deal of difference in the Pomp, according to the age of the party deceased: for such as had more age had more honour than others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alcestis*) of a great deal more glory to be gotten by the death of the yonger sort, he replyed, by no means, for

Κἂν γραῦς, θανοῦσα πλουσίως ταφήσεται.

If old she die, she will be richly buried.

And here, because I have such an occasion given me, before I go any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more than I thought to have done, concerning the customs used in mourning at Funerals, or any other time, and first, of the cutting of the hair.

CAP. XXV.

De Capillis tondendis in Luctu.

THE Grecians, upon any extraordinary occasion of sorrow and *baldness* (as the *Hebrews* say) used to cut their hair ὀλοσχερῶς (as they call'd it) or to shave it close to the skin. For so much may be gathered by those words of *Lysias* (cited by *Aristotle* in his * Rhetoricks) which he had in his speech for the Corinthians, that died in the fight with the * *L.* 3. *c.* 10.

Persians at Salamis, saies he, ἄξιον ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καμεῖν πλεονεκτήσαντι κείρασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. *It had been no less than desert, if all Greece had been shaved at the burial of those gallant souldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis.* If this suffice not, you may take the testimony of *Euripides*, who would have the whole Country of the *Cyclopians* to do the like.

—ἰαχὴν ὁ Κυκλωπίας
Σίδηρος ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τιθεῖσα κλεινοῖς.

And he himself when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourned for after this manner, by no worse man than *Archelaus* the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this custome, *Strabo* speaks of a Town in *Cappadocia* called *Comona*, from the *mourning hair*, cut in that place by *Orestes* and *Iphigenia*. So you shall meet with the like practice of *Tellus* in the behalf of *Phaeton*: and of *Bacchus* the God (as *intonsus as he was*) for the loss of his wife. Nay you shall find *Job* himself at this very work upon the news of his Childrens death. And in the Prophecy of *Jeremy* you may read, *Cut off thy hair, and*
a c.7.v 29. *cast it away, and take up a lamentation.* Tis true, they were to be blamed for these follies, and in b *Cicero* you shall meet
b *Tusc. Q. l.* 3. with a saying of *Bion* himself, deriding the use of this custome in *Agamemnon*: *Perinde stultissimum Regem in luctu capillum sibi evellere, quasi calvitio maror levaretur*, as if he aggravated the former loss of his friends, with another of his hair. What if it be objected to all this, (which we confess to be true too) that it was a custome to cut the hair in token of joy? For first among the Jews, if you look into the Bible, you shall find *Joseph* cutting his hair, when he came out of prison; and *Jonathans* Son, when he met with *David*, for joy doing the like. Nay that action of *Job* it self, is by *Origen* (the *Allegorical* Interpreter) thought to have been an expression not of sorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerful patience under his affliction. 2ly. Among the Romans, you know their *squallid prisoners* let their hair hang down long, that they might look the more *dejected*, and so move the judges to

pitty

pitty when they came to be tried.

a *Aspice demissos lugentis more capillos.*

Whereas after their absolution or releasement, they presently cut it. And therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epistles interprets his dream of the cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from some eminent danger. And last of all for your Greeks themselves, that they let their hair grow long in times of sadness, may appear by that of *Lycophron*. a Ovid. in Epist.

Κρατὸς δ' ἀκειρῶ πᾶνα καλλυνῶ φόβῃ
Μνήμῃσι παλαιῶν τιμαλφῶν ἀδυμήτων.

And that they *cut it* in times of *joy*, will be out of question, if we believe *Artemidorus*, who saies that διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶς καὶ τὸ χαρῆναι, *the word for rejoycing comes from the word which they use for cutting the hair.* To reconcile these things perhaps it may suffice to say, That cutting their hair shorter by way of a κουρὰ, or a *trimming* (as we call it) as a token of joy, but shaving it close, even to *baldness*, of sorrow and dejection, as among the Jews, *weeping, and mourning, and baldness* were joyned together. I know there are some, that think to reconcile all, by saying as *Plutarch* saies (in *Romaicis*) παρ' ἄλλοις ὅταν δυσχέρειαν λέγωσι, κείρονται μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες, τρέφουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, that *the women expressed their sorrow by cutting their hair*, and *the men by letting it grow*. Which may be likely enough, because in sorrow, people out of a dejected carelessness, love to appear as unhandsome as may be, and contrary to the usual fashion: now it was accounted a handsome thing, (and so it was the custome too among the Greeks, for women to wear their hair long, and the men to wear it short. But how is it then that in b *Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long hair? Isai. c. 22. v. 12. b In Heaut. act. 2. sc. 3.

Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput
Rejectus negligenter.

CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

WHen any diſaſter befell ſuch as were neer of kin unto them, ὁ θάνατος, &c. it being a time for ſadneſs, they forbare to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men *glad*) and confined themſelves to that which the Scholiaſt calls ἀλφίτου κυκεῶνα, a *Barly-maſh*, (Ale, its like) But ſorrow muſt be more than negative: and therefore, Firſt, they uſed to tear their cloths and their hair, after the manner of the Hebrews, and ſometimes to fling their Vails in the fire, (not in healths, but in ſobs and ſighs) as it is in *Rheſus*.

Eurip. Καὶ σὺν πυρᾶσιν μυελὸν πίπλων χεροῖν.

Ovid. Met. l. 8. fab. 9. 2 To throw their faces in the duſt, or the duſt in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultuſq; ſenilis
Fœdat humi faſos—

Or ſometimes aſhes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourned for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sons at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

Eurip. Supp. v. 816. —ἀμφὶ κρατὸς
Κάσσετο χύμιδας—

Smyrnæus. C. 3 Κόπτεσθαι (which is uſed for πατάσσειν) to beat their breſt and their thighs, and cut and tear their fleſh like a Jew: as one ſaies

* Is Het. * ἀμφώνυχας χερὸς αὐλὰς·

Making ſtreaks and *furrows* with their nailes in their face (as Euripides uſes the word αὐλακίζειν.

b in Avib. —ὄνυξιν ἠλακίσμεθ'.)

4 To drain, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection ἰὴ, ἰὴ, ἰὴ, ἰὴ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon b *Ariſtophanes*) comes the word ἰάπτω to be uſed

uſed for a ſong of lamentation viz. Ἰὼ τὸν Λίνον.

But at a Funeral, ſo immoderate were they (eſpecially the Women) in theſe and the like expreſſions of ſorrow, that *Solon* was fain to make this Law of purpoſe to reſtrain them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve luſſum funeris ergò habento*, let no Women, &c. Their cuſtoms they uſed at ſuch times were theſe. First, when they came forth of the houſe (and not onely at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his hair, and it is noted by the [a] *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practiſe, where he ſhews how. It could hardly be believed, that *Alceſtis* was indeed buried, as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe neither the pot of Holy water, nor ſo much as a lock of hair could be ſeen at the door, as they were wont to be. Cicero de Leg. b

Καὶ τἄν τε πρὸ δόμων πλοκάμους—
—ἢ δὲ λιγεῖαν πάτραν πτυπῶ. a Eurip. Alc. v. 100.

2. As they went along with the corps, they kept their head cloſe covered, and their faces, as other people do. And therefore *Oreſtes*, when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, ſaies he See Eſther. c. 6. v. 12. and Jer. c. 14. v. 3.

—ἀνακάλυπτε δ' ὀφθαλμὸν κόρης
Εἰ λευκὸν ἢ μέλαν—

Be uncover'd, &c.

In the like manner *Theſeus* (as it is in another [b] Tragedy of the ſame Poet) when *Adraſtus* came to petition his help στόμα χλανιδίοις, all bemuſled and covered in the habit of a Mourner, ſaid to him b In Suppl. v. 110.

Λίαν ἐκκαλύψαι κρᾶτα καὶ πόρευγόον.

They uſed likewiſe to lay their hands on their heads (as we do our heads upon our hands.) So c *Helen* ſaies of the Trojans c Id. Hel. v. 376.

Ἐπὶ γ' ἐμοὶ γόοις ἔτειναν.

3 Their manner of *going*, was to tread as ſoftly as they could with their feet, and make no noiſe with their tongues (I mean the reſt of the company, and not thoſe which they got for the purpoſe to weep)

Σίγα, Σίγα πεπτὶν ἴχνος ἀρβύλης
Τιθῶμεν, μὴ κτυπήσῃ, μὴδ' ἴσω στένω.

Saies

Saies the *Chorus*, In the book of [a]Kings, tis said that *Ahab* lay in Sackcloth ואט ויהלך and *went softly*, and so [b] *Isaiah* saies, *I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul* אהלכה though I know some Translations render it otherwise.

[a] *L.1.c.21.v.27*
[b] *c.38.v.15.*

4 When they come to the place of burial (for I mean to end the Mourning first, and then to come to the rest, they would cut off all the best locks of their hair (πλόκαμον or βόστρυχον) and lay them on the grave, or cast them into the fire. And this they called κουρὰν κομῆς and κουρὰν τρίχας (as it is in *Aristophanes*) or κομᾶν βόστρυχον (as in *Æschylus*) or καθέλκειν χλιδῶν (as in *Sophocles*) or ἀπαρχὰς τρίχων (as it is every where.) All their *best locks* I said, for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles* was very angry with *Helen* for dealing πανούργως *deceitfully*, and hiding the best of her hair to save it at the burial of *Clytemnestra*, for indeed ἔδει που καὶ ἀλόχου τρίχα τ' ἄκρα τ' πλόκαμον τμῆξαι, *they should cut it all*, saith the Scholiast upon that Poet: who in another place has given a reason or two for the action, *viz.* First to make them seem squallid, careless, and contemptible; whereas locks ἀβέστατα καὶ καλλοπισμὸν ὑμεναίοις, *are used for ornament, and sprucenes*, as being τρυφὴ τριχῶν (as I may say) the *Luxury of the hair*. Then, tis known that the Greeks were κομητικώτατοι, and used to wear their hair long ἐμίσουν τὸ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ εὐθαρσὲς, saies the Scholiast, both to *please their friends and to fright their enemies*. Nay they took such a *pride* in having it so, (calling themselves Κομήτας, and such as cut it too short κειρωνὰς (that κομᾶν, signifying to wear hair long, has been used to signifie to be *d proud*.

[c] *Il.C.*

[d] *Il.Ψ.*

Ἵνα δὲ τάτε τιθεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν τεθραμμένον εὐμενῆ ποιῆται, *to get the good will of the deceased party, and the Manes*. Some again say it was done by none but a Parent, or a Foster-father, or Mother, by way of thanks for their education, and so they call'd it τροφεῖα μόνον, ἀντιδιδόντα τὰς ἀντιτροφάς. But why then should e *Hercules* do it to *Sostratus*, he who was but his *Ganimede*. Last of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the

[e] *Pausan.*

the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the ſpace of eleven daies) the Women were not to wear any [a] Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle-light (which two at firſt were but one thing, *viz.* [b] Wood for heat and light (δᾳδες) ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἐκφερόμενος ἐκαίετο δᾳδί, ſaith an old Gloſſe, and to this cuſtome ſome do refer that in the Satyriſt.

Pullati proceres, &c.
— tunc ædimus ignem.

If the mourning were for a publick calamity, all the *Palæſtræ*, and *gymnaſia* muſt be ſhut up, together with the Baths and the Shops, and the temples themſelves. But it is time to return to the Corps, and ſee it buried as ſoon as I can, for fear of giving offence (as I told you before.)

[a] *Lycophr.*

[b] *Vid. Suid. in* ἐφκτὸς *et Heſych. in* Δαλὸς. *Juven. Sat. 3.*

CAP. XXVII.

De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco ſepulturæ.

THe ordinary way by which the corps was carried was the gate called Θειτίδαι, ſo called becauſe they led to the θῆται, the *Graves*, or the *Common place of burial*. This gate is ſometimes called ἱεραὶ πύλαι, *ſacræ portæ*, whether in oppoſition to the πύλαι ἀτιμωρίδες (in *Plutarch*) or the χαρίνου πύλαι (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture pheaſe, or *Scelerata porta* as the Romans do) by which they dragged the Malefactors, I am yet to ſeek: for Malefactors were to ſuffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. It ſeems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike unclean, and ſo took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

[a] *Theoph. v. Arvald. 1. Pollux.*

The place of burial in ancient times for a King, or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, (to ſhew that he might not be a *Mountain* for ever) according to that in *Lycophron*.

Kings and princes are ſo called in Scrip. as Iſaiah 41. 15. &c.

Τεκμήριον τοῦτο Κεραμεικὸν πεδίον.

Or that of *Virgil*,

Æn. 11. *——fuit ingens Monte sub alto*
Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum.

Lib. de Orig. Gent. Rom. "*Aurelius* saies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *sepultus circa radices Montis, cui ex suo nomen dedit*, unless you will say that those *Montes* were nothing but *tumuli* in a larger size, which *tumuli* were in the *diminutive* and so the hills must be made by the burier, as "*Lucan* saies

L. 8. *Et Regum cineres extructo monte quiescant.*

But for men of a lower rank, till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it went no higher than a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis*

——ὑπὸ γῆν δυσκελάδου
Βοὸς πολυκωκύτοις οἴκαδε δόμοις.

'Tis true, that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may say) appointed for the purpose, called by the name of οἱ Κεραμεικοὶ, *Potters fields*, ὁ μὲν ἔσω ὁ δὲ ἔξω τείχους, one within the Walls, and the other without. *Aristophanes* in his *Rana*, calls them τὰς ταφὰς, the *Burials* or the *Burjes*. That burial place within (otherwise called δημόσιαν by *Thucydides*) was for those that made an honourable end in the field for the good of the *Commonwealth*: the manner whereof I shall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was distinguished into several fields, and enclosures. And therefore we shall read that sometimes close to the Gates, sometimes by the way sides, according to that of *Hector* in "*Euripides*,

In Rhes. v. 880. ——τύμβος

ΚΕΦ.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporum crematione.

NOw for the uſage of the bodies: when they came to the place of burial, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, ἦν νόμος καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐ θάπτειν ἀλλὰ καίειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρακιῶν, ἵνα τάχιον ἀναλίσκωνται τὰ σώματα, the cuſtome was at firſt to burn them; according to that of *Quintilian*. *Declam.* 10. *Animam, quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi ſe igni luſtraverit petere ſedes inter aſtra.* And the reaſon was, ſaies that Scholiaſt, *becauſe by this means the body might preſently conſume all away to nothing.* But that cuſtome (I know not for what reaſon) was not ſo well liked by other people, inſomuch that the *Magi* among the* *Perſians*, thought it *ἀνοσιώτατον a thing moſt prophane* (I feare me more for the *Fire* than any thing elſe.) and therefore at length it came to be leſſe uſed, ſo as ſometimes they would burn them, and ſometimes onely cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no neceſſity that τύμβος a *Grave*, ſhould come from τύφω, τέφρα θάπτω, *to burn*, as the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* would have it. But for ought I can find even in after times, among the Greeks, burial by burning, was ſtill eſteemed the more honourable and ſtately way of the two: as may appear by their unwillingneſſe to have it common; for they denied the uſe of it, First to Infants. 2. To ſuch as kill'd themſelves. 3. To ſuch as were killed with Lightning or *Fulguribus, ſtruck with the Planet* (as we ſay) who were to be buried there where they died, or at leaſt in ſome peculiar place apart, as we do thoſe that Hang themſelves, or the like. And thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* ſtoned to death, as he was ſcaling the walls (a thing invented by him as ſome report) becauſe they imagined him to have been ſhot to death by *Jupiter*, muſt needs be buried χωὶς ἑαυτοῦ, ſo *Adraſtus* ſaies in *Euripides*

* *Diog. Laert. l.* 10

Ἢ χωλεύειν, ἢ νεκρὸν θάπτειν δίκης.

And lastly to Traytors: on whom they were loath to bestow any Burial at all. Insomuch that *Themistocles* having been dead long before in *Magnesia*, the Athenians in time of a pestilence, though they had expresse command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to *Athens*, could by no means be permitted by the Magistrates to do it, in regard he had deale with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Countrey, and therefore having obtained fifty daies time to celebrate his Funeral, as the fashion was (as I may say) *in his picture*, having erected a Tent, closely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Original of this Law the Scholiast upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the siege of *Troy*, threatned whomsoever he found leaving his place treacherously in the fight, to kill him himselfe, adding withall.

—ἐκ γὰρ τὴν
Γυναῖκ' ἐμὴν πυρὶ κελάχει σὺν ἔντεα.

Upon which words you have this Scholy. Ἐντεῦθεν ἦλθεν ὁ νόμος μὴ θάπτειν, ὃς καὶ νεκροθαπτῶν ἐκώλυσε. *Hence came the Law*, &c. But I must tell you after all this, that however *burning* & *burying* are so neer in their sounds they have been far enough distant in their being, at least in some Countries. For at *Rome* it was not used in *Macrobius* his time. Among the *Greeks* indeed it may be rather thought to have been discontinued onely upon dislike, than not to have been begun when it was not used. For one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they esteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead bodie, which it was to purifie, is reported by a Scholiast upon *Homer*, to have cryed aloud to *Prometheus* with these words, Ἔ πύρξεν, βάδιζον, πάλιν ἀνιὼν ἐς πάλιν σῦ. *O pray carry the fire back again where you had it.* The first that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*; Who desiring of *Licymnius* to send his son *Argius* to help him in the war with *Laomedon* for the

the horſes, engaged himſelf by an oath, to ſee him home ſafe to his Father again; but the Son being killed in the War, he took him and burnt him, and carried his bones to his father, συνζώσας αὐτὸν, *putting a fallacy upon him*, as if he had his ſon indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare bones. And yet he uſed him better than *Cyniras* K. of *Cyprus* did *Menelaus*, who, having promiſed him fifty ſhips with men, ſent him one true ſhip, and poped him along with ſhips and men made of clay for the reſt. The ſtory is likely enough, but he that told me ſaid he did not believe it, and therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reaſon or two of the uſe of the cuſtome, either becauſe πᾶν τὸ νεκρὸν ἀκάθαρτον, *every dead thing is impure*, and ſo it had need to be purified: and the rather by fire, becauſe it was commonly uſed to ſuch a purpoſe, as being ἀγνιστὴν, able to make that pure and chaſt, which before was adulterated with *Heterogeneous* abaſements and alloys: whence *Euripides* ſaies of *Clytemneſtra's* body πυρὶ τοὐξύσεται. Or elſe to ſhew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carried in the fire, as in a Coach to be joyned in ſociety with the gods above, τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἀνδρὸς ἀναπορθμὶς ὥσαν ἐς ὁμιλίαν τῷ πυρὶ (how neer this goes to expreſſe the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) συζεύξαι τῶν ἐναγισθέντων. Which Princes had no need of, if they could be carried upon *Eagles wings*: as I ſhall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is ſaid ἀναπτισθῆναι, *to be made again* by the fire, and ſo to become καλὸν ἀδάμαντα, as he calls it. Thus the naked Sophiſters of *India* (πυρίκαυστοι) uſed to burn themſelves into that immortality, which they deſired of *Alexander*, when he put them to ask what they would.

* χ. Hom. Il. A.

lb. χ.

* *Cic. Tuſc. Q. L. 5.*

CAP. XXIX.

De ritu Cremandi, sive comburendi corpus: De loculis & reliquiis.

THe manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood; and having laid the corps on the top, to set it on fire, according to that of *Homer*, where he speaks of *Hector*.

Il. ω. Ἐν δ' πυρὶ δαῖεν νεκρὸν δόμεν, ἐκ δὲ κασίγνη

The wood was not alwaies of one sort. But sometimes Oak, as in * *Euripides*, where you shall read of πρῖνοι δρυὸς, *Oaken billets*, at the funeral of *Hercules* his children. Sometimes Olive, as in *a Sophocles*. And sometimes Pine, as in *Athenæus*: unlesse shall I say, that he confined the use of it to the burial of Virgins. If the party had lost his life in shipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship,

Here. Fur. v. 241.
a In Trach.
b L. 15.

— ut corpus sepeliret naufragus ignis,
Et collecta Rogum facerent fragmenta carinæ.

Manili. l. 4.

Thus to burn the bodies they called it πυρὰν τῶν σωμάτων, and the *Bone-fire* it self πυρὰν.

All the while it was burning, the mourners stood round about the Bone-fire, and prayed to the Winds to blow, (for so *Achilles* in *Homer* is said to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burn the better. Not to put the carcass (surely) but themselves out of the pain. If there happened to be a very strong wind just at that time, they embraced it as an excellent good omen. Still there was Κήρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that should offer to meddle with the bones. *Ossa ne legito*, saies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine. And after that τὴν πυρὰν ζωὸς οἶνος ἐκόπασεν, * they swept up the ashes together in a heap. The bones they took and washed them in water

Il. ψ.

brought

brought in χύτραι, pots for the purpose, by the ἀρχιτρίαι, (women apointed for that work, and for bringing Milk, and such other things as they used in the χοαί) and having anointed them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow, they wrapped them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they called βάλανος or πίλος, or σορός. Etym. Mag.

Ὡς ἡ σορὸς ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐν ᾗ σορῷ ἐμαιεύετο ἄνθρωπος. * Il.

The vessel, whatsoever it was, is in *Lychophron*, called κρουνὸς as if it were a Pott: and in *Moschus* χρύσεος κρουνὸς, as if it were wont to be *gilded* and in * *Plutarch* λίθου σορός, as if it were wont to be stone, me thinks it may be called a coffin, for I read it was usually made of Wood, viz. of *Cedar*, which is longest a rotting, and is therefore called ξυλὸν ζωὴ, *the life of the dead*. Indeed whether it were ordinary to have such Coffins, or onely for those that had *Sepulchra*, and Vaults of purpose under ground to set them in, I cannot well tell. But that there was such a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the word κίστος, used sometimes for the chest it self does seem to declare in those words of *Admetus* desiring to lye with his Wife in the *Grave-bed* too. Idyl. 4. In Numa.

Ἐν κεδρίνοις ἀμφὶς ἐμοὶ σανίσιν κεῖσθαι
Κοινὸν δ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ σὸν δέμας— Eurip. Alc. v. 365.

A wish not unreasonable, seeing the thing desired was so usual both among the Greeks and the Romans too. St. *Austins* own Mother was of the same mind: for why?

Quos certus amor, quos hora novissima junxit
Componi tumulo non invidearis eodem. Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab 2.

The Athenians indeed seldome put above one mans bones in the same coffin: but the *Megarenses* many times four, saies *Pausanias*. The bones which they kept, because they were that which the fire left, were called λείψανα or *Reliques*. And they were thus kept saith the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*, μὴ ὑβρισθῶσι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, &c. least they should be exposed to the rage of too deadly enemies. If the party were burnt in a forraign Country, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the Coffin

coffin, and pompously shewed and adorned with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of *Ovid.*

Ossa tamen facito parvâ referantur in urnâ,
Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.

When they came where there were crosse waies, those that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia* feasts, τῶν ἀγχιστέων ἑορταὶ αἱ γινόμεναι ἐπὶ τῶν διοδίων ὑπὲρ τῆς περιπλόου τῶν νεκρῶν. After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times (twas a number very superstitiously used by all nations) to make his appearance,

Vetus Glos.

Virgil.

—*Magnâ manes ter voce vocavi.* (But of this already.) Now the place where the Coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the rest of the family, only such as proved [a] unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of ἄταφοι.

[a] Diog. La. [b] Harpocr.

CAP. XXX.

De Tumulis.

THe customes used in a *cold* burial where these; (and some of them used at a burning too: as the Sacrifice, the speeches, and the plaies.) The peculiar place of burial was usually chosen before they died, & markt with a black stone. And when they came to be buried, a heap of earth thrown upon the body, σὸν δ' ἐρέσσειν χοῦν' Ἀχιλλέως τάφῳ, &c. saies *Ulysses* in *Hecuba Euripidis*, agreeable whereto, is that phrase of the same Poet it another place μητέρα ἐξώγκων τάφῳ & the Latine word *Tumulus* a *heap* or a *grave*. But (I think) for the better sort, they made it higher, and a little handsomer, with stones, somewhat after the fashion of our Tombs. For so *Theseus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* should honour his Corps —λαοισιν τ' ἐξογκώσασι. Whether earth or stones, it seems they desired to have it polished, as neat as might be, fast and smooth.

Τύμβον

[a] Τύμβον κενόλεν ξυνὸν, — [b] ἐπ' ἔσχατον πόδα

saies the same Poët in *Alceſtis*, and in *Helena*— The poſture which the body uſually had in the grave, was with the face towards the Eaſt ſaies *Diogenes Laert. in Democrito*, towards the Weſt, ſaies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the ſtone which I mentioned, was written the name and the condition of the party deceaſed, which they deſcribed commonly in verſe. *Plato* was for juſt four Heroick verſes and no more. Such Epitaphs they called γνωρίσματα, becauſe they made *known* the party: as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memoriæ*, becauſe they made them *remembred*. And therefore the *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, (ſaies *Juſtin*) uſed to tye a *ticket* or a *note*, about their wriſts, to certifie of what condition they were; that in caſe they ſhould dye in the fields, they might have a Burial and a Monument according to their quality. Having thrown the earth upon him, the next work was to ſacrifice, & pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sis tibi terra levis.* Such a prayer as the Chorus in *Euripides* uſed for *Alceſtis*.

[a] *Ibid. v.* 836.
[b] *Ibid. v.* 992.

— κῦρα σοι
χθὼν ἐπίπονο πίσοι, γύναι.

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a wicked [c] fellow, or a [d] Coward, ſo they thought it too little to be denyed to another: and this made *Menelaus* to fear ſo little to dye, for ſaies he

[c] *V.* 462.
[d] Κακὸς.

[e] Εἰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ οἱ θεοὶ σπουδὴν,
Εὐ ψυχον ἄνδρα πολεμίων δαΐων θ' ὑπὸ
Κύρσαι παλαμναίαν ἐς τύμβον χθονὸς·
Κακὸς δ' ἐφ' ἅμα σῶμα σὸν ἐκβάλλοις γῆς.

[e] Eurip. He. v. 857.

CAP. XXXI.

De Infernis.

THe maner of Sacrificing to the Infernal Gods, or the Gods of the dead (for *infernum* or ἄδης or ᾅδης, is a place

for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar (βόθρον) (perchance to get the nearer to them) according to that practice in *Ovid.*

Met. l. 7. *Haud procul egestâ terrebus tellure duabus*
Odyſſ. 11. *Sacra facit.*

* *Æn. 6.* The Victime then ſlain, was either a barren Cow, as * *Homer* ſayes —τέλεην βῦν, ἥτις ἄρειον: And *Virgil*,

—*Sterilemque tibi Proſerpina vaccam.*

Or elſe a black ſheep, ſuch as the old fellow ſaw ſlain at the grave of *Agamemnon.*

* *Eurip. Electr. v. 513.* * Πυρᾷ δ' ὑπ' αὐτῇ θῆλυ μελάγγαιον πόκῳ
Σ ἀγὸν σιδηροῦν—

a *In Oedip. v. 556.* And ſuch as *Seneca* ſpeaks of a *Nigro bidentes vellere, &c.* The reaſon why they made choyce of this colour, was either becauſe it ſuited beſt with *mourning*; or becauſe it was to the *black gods* of the *dark*: For as *Arnobius* ſayes, *Diis lævis ſedis habitantibus inferas color ſurvus eſt gratior.* Afterwards it *L. 7.* roſe to an Ox, till it was forbidden by *Solon.* Whether it *Plut. in Sol.* were Sheep or Bullock, or Hog: as it was beſt, if it were a ſplayd or a barren female: ſo it might not be Ram nor Bull, nor Boar, &c. τὰ μὲ γονόωντα ζῶα, or ἅτε πεπηρωμένον, ἃ ὅσα μὲν γόνιμα ἔτυχε, ſayes the Scholiaſt; and that for the ſame reaſon (as he ſaith) for which at the ſame time they offered down both their haire, and the Briſtle haire of the Beaſt, which grew upon his fore-head, Ἀπαρχὰς, viz. ἀπὸ φόνου τὸ *Hom. Il. 4.* θνήσιον ἀποκόπτουσι, that they might not give the *dead*, either that which had life in it ſelfe, or that which could beget it in another thing. Thoſe *ſetæ*, or briſtle haires, are in a peculiar manner termed ἀπαρχαὶ, and the offering thereof, ἀπάρχεσθαι, as *Il. ξ.* in theſe words.

—ἀπαρχόμενοι δὲ τρίχας τε πυρὶ βάλλον
Ἀχιλῆϊ δῖος

Thus rendred in the words of *Virgil*,

Et ſummas carpens media inter cornua Setas
Ignibus impoſuit—

Yea

Yea not only the beast which they *slew*; but all the rest which they suffered to live, in the time of a publique funerall, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As appears by the practice of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horses and Bullocks, and all at the funeral of *Masistius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funeral of *Hephastion* dealt with the Horses & the Mules, and the walls themselves of the town of *Ecbatana* πανδημεὶ (as *Ælian* hath it) *shaving* them ἐς χθὼ close to the ground. And, I remember, in [a] *Euripides*, *Admetus* desiring to celebrate his Wifes funeral in the best manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horses maines to be all cut.

—ἡ μονόπωλος
Πᾶλος τε θήρᾳ τίμιος σὺ χαίτων φθίσω.

a In *Alcest. v.* 439.

Then besides the victime they had τὰς χοὰς *Libationes*, which was usually μελικρατα, hony, and milk, and wine, to which they added Cakes, if the Translator render it aright.

—μελιτόεσσι δοσπάλοις. In [b] *Euripides*, the manner of using their liquors, was first to go round about the grave, and powre out some, as they went, out of the bottle (as he [c] sayes λοιβὰς ἀοιδὴν) and then to stand on the top, and do it there too, as *Sophocles* sayes κλάσω ἐξ ἄκρου, &c. As they offered they used certain speeches to the party deceased, such as that was

b Hel. v. 554.

c Id. in Elect. v. 530.

Ἕλκω δ' ἀδελφῇ τοῖς ἀφ' ἡμῶν χοάς.

Together with prayers to the gods, and the ghosts of the dead to be propitious to them. And therefore those χοαὶ, were usually termed ἱλαστήριοι, and σωτήριοι, and κλυτήριοι καὶ: and they made choice of the most proper liquors, to sweeten and supple them. Such a prayer is that in *Euripides* to the ghost of *Achilles*, Ὦ παῖ Θέτιδος, πατὴρ δ' ὅδε, δέξαι χοὰς μου τὰς κλυτηρίους τυμβωρύχους ἀπ' ἀγγέων, &c.

Those Sacrificing offices were especially to be performed by the Kinred too (as most of the rest were), and therefore *Cassandra* setting forth the sad condition of the Leagures at *Troy*, and their friends at home, sayes she, *Their Parents be-*

ing us bereft of their children in the Siege.

—ἢ κατὰ παῖδας ὀλέσσαι

Ἐν δ' ὄφρα ἀνδρῶν αἷμα χαμαὶ δαφοίνετο,

—no body have

To let a victime blood upon their grave.

CAP. XXXII.

De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phyllobolia.

BEsides all this, there must be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the hearse and the corps: And this action they called στεφανοῦν τὸν τύμβον and the Garlands themselves στέφανοι and that more properly than any of the former, as being not only ἐπιτύμβιοι, made of a *Collation* or a *Collection* of all sorts of flowers gathered together, but also made to be thrown ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, upon the *Earth*. Sometimes indeed they made those Garlands of nothing but the flower σέλινον, (saith *Athenæus*) and then the Garlands were called σελινῖται too. And it may be sometimes of σέλινον or *Apium* as I have occasion to think from that story of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance Mules laden with this *Apium*. The Souldiers being affrighted therewith, because of the use which they knew to be made of that herb in funerals (whence the the proverb of one that is desperately sick Λύκῳ σιτεῖ, *that he eats* Apium) refus'd to fight: but he told them, *Nay rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is use of the herb, when a man has won the best to fight, as well as when death hath given him the worst.* The first beginning of this custome, is by *Philostratus* (in *Heroicis*) attributed to the *Thessali*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reason of it, saies *Clemens*, was to expresse the quiet condition of the dead, and their freedome from care and trouble, ἀπραγμοσύνης σημεῖον καὶ ἀμεριμνίας. But I rather think

[3] *L.14. & 5.*

[b] *Pædag. l.11. c.8.*

think with the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμᾶν τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ὡς τοὺς ζῶντας τοῖς ἀγῶσι, to honour the dead as they use to do the living, when they won the *Game*. For the same reason, doubtlesse, was it that they did στεφανοῦν (as they called it) fall a throwing of boughs and leaves upon the graves as *Euripides* sayes, they did to *Polyxena* when she dyed (for in latter times, if a man had won a race or the like, they had a custome to bedeck his valiant Corps with boughs and leaves) you have it done by an old Fellow in a *Euripides* with Myrtle.

a *Elect. v.* 510.

—νίμβῳ δ' ἀμφίσπαρτα μυρσίναις.

Whether was there any allusion therein to the *golden bough* or no? I think not: but if you will, you may read more of that bough in *Virgil*, and in *Servius* his notes upon him. *Æn. 6.* It seems that in *Italy* they had the same customes. For sayes b *Varro*, *ad Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they *carried leaves to and upon the dead*. And that they took the pains to make Garlands too, will appear by those words of *Ælia Pætia* to *Olbiam*, *Coronas etiam sepulchris denegati*, &c. nay *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, sayes my Author, they came to wool at last when they had more to spare.

b *L. 6. de L. L.*

CAP. XXXIII.

De *Columnis, de Orationibus, & Libris funebribus. & de Aquilis.*

EIther upon, or close by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law. To the Pillar sometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of somewhat else to resemble him. Thus *Diogines* was honoured with the Image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*: and *Isocrates* with the Image a *Syren*, for being an *Orator*. And it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over-constant love to his wife, when he would get the

Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Σοῦ δ' ἕνεκ' ἐν τύμβοισι κεκεύθασιν
Ἠδὲ τάφοις ἐν λάρνακος ἐμβεβάσιν.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private discourse at home at the feast, or by a publique speech in the *Ceramicus*. Which speech, if the party dyed in a battel, was to be made by one appointed by the Magistrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of burial, but every year after: as *Cicero* sayes, *in Populari oratione mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in prælio sint interfecti: quæ sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illâ die recitari necesse sit.*

Lib. de Orat.

The first that began this custome of making speeches, some say was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slain in the *Peloponesian* war; & some, *Solon*. But besides funeral speeches, they had funeral *playes* too. ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους both the Play and the Feast, commonly go under the name of τάφοι.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practised by the unhappy people of those times, even in burialls, when they should have more wit: what will you say, if I have that yet left, which will please you all as much, *viz.* That even they themselves for the most part, esteemed those practises, both unprofitable to the dead, and vain and foolish in the living, as may appear in the words of *Hecuba* her self, or the * Poet for her.

* *Eurip. Tro. ad. v.* 1247.

Ἀνὴρ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄντας ἀνθρώπους ἔχει.
Εἰ πλοῦτον εἰς τάφους τις ἐκπέμπει πολύν,
Καὶ χρυσὸν ἐν πυρᾷ τις ἐν θανοῦσι βάλλεται,
Ματαιοπονίαν ταῦτα τοῖς ζῶσιν φέρει.

I think it boots the dead the least of all,
How rich or poor they have their funeral,
'Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus disposed of the body, they returned home. For the Gods they take no care, unless it were a King or a

Prince

Prince, whose soules they imagined ἀγχίσπορον to be carried into heaven upon *Eagles wings*: and therefore was it, that they were * wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So at Rome, when they buried an Emperour, they used to let fly an Eagle over the grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* ἀετὸν an Eagle, because he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach. * Artemid. l. 2. c. 30.

CAP. XXXIV.

De *Lustratione Domus funestæ, & de Parentalibus, &c.*

BEing come home, they fell a purging and *Lustrating* the *house* with brimstone; and *themselves*, by going through the fire, or some other lustration; for there were several sorts thereof, and if I have leasure, I may chance to speak more of it. Thus I remember in the Poet, 'tis said they did to the Kings house, who was slain by *Hercules*: rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the λαὸν in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Περὶ μὲν τὸν πέριξ βωμὸν ἐλθεῖν λέβητ' ἔχων
Καὶ ἀφυσάμενον. * Eurip. Herc. F. v. 693.

After this they kept a feast, ἡ μετὰ δωδεκάτην *Silicernium*, or *circumpotationem*, as the manner is with some of us. Those that were at it, wore Garlands, as *Cicero* sayes, *quas inibant parentes coronati*. The colour of their apparrel was white: *& quis unquam cœnavit atratus*, sayes * *Cicero*. But how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thetis* to go all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son * So I remember *Admetus* in * *Euripides* bids them mourn for *Alcestis*, ἐν μελανείμονι στολῇ, in black: and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funeral of *Adonis* κυανέῃ in a *sky coloured gown*. Perchance they wore black no longer than till it came to the feast. This feast they renewed again, not only nine dayes after, when they called it ἐννατὰ, and thirty dayes after, when they called it τριακάδα (when they Odyss. 17. * In vatinium. Il. 24. * Alc. v. 427.

they ſacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their ſouls to the *fields*) but alſo upon the day of his death ever after, calling it νεκύσια, and upon the day of his birth calling it γενέσια. The common name for all the feaſts, or the common feſtivall for all the infernall rites, and for all perſons, was Νεκύσια, uſually kept in the Month of *Anthesterion*: as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Month of *February*, *in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum*, when the kinred eſpecially (*les parens*) did ſacrifice both to the earth and the gods under it, and the ghoſts of their Parents, or their Anceſtors above it.

Of all theſe funeral rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the perſon deceaſed, might be ſuffered to bear any part: as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chryſothemis* forbidding her to ſacrifice,

Οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐχθρᾶς ὧδε γυναικὸς ἰσχύειν
Κτερίσματα—

Nor ſo much as come neer the grave, as *Ulyſſes* in *Sophocles* is forbid to do to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay ſuch was *Sepulchralis ſanctitas*, (ſaies *Tully*) that no *ſtranger* might be ſuffered to do it, for fear he *might* be an enemy. Moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, than what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the *Mouth* of death, (for ſo * *Homer* calls the grave) to be *gnawn like a ſheep*, by the never ſatisfied teeth of hungry שאול. For κατορυττόμενος he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the *belly* of the earth, is as properly ſaid to be devoured, as what is devoured and incloſed in the ſtomack of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly ſaid to be buried κατεσθίεσθαι. For ſo the *Vultures* are called * τάφοι ἀμφίχυτοι, *living graves*: nay the Metaphor is commonly made reach to men themſelves, ſome of whom, even *their mouths are open ſepulchers*, as well as the bellyes have been of others. As that

* Il. 9. Pſal. 49. 14.

Hermog.

of

of *Tereus* when he eat his Son.

—*Sequæ vocat buſtum miſerabile nati.*

And of *Saturn* when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted ſo ſynonymous, that (as *Lactantius* ſaies) *Saturn* was thought to have been ſaid to have eaten his Sons, becauſe he buried them where they might not be ſeen. Well, it cannot be helpt, theſe great eaters, Death and the Grave are all mouth, & no ears, like the belly. There's no ſtopping nor filling their mouth. Ἅιδης οὐ βωμοὺς, ſaies *Æſchylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*, He is inexorable, and therefore called ἀπρόσιτος in *Euripides*. Neither (ſaies a * Scholiaſt) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not where. Let us ſee therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone. L. 1. c. 13. * *In Hom. Il.*

His Wife, if ſhe ſeemed to be with child, was taken into the care & protection of the *Archon*, leaſt ſhe might be cunningly perſwaded to marry with whom ſhe ſhould not; and if any man offered to wrong her, the puniſhment was arbitrary. The children were committed ἐπιτρόπῳ to a *Tutor*. He that was ἐπίτροπος, to be overſeer or Guardian, was either not to be of kin at all; or elſe ſo far off, that if the child ſhould happen to die in his nonnage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will, or by appointment of the *Archon*. Which way ſoever it were, he was παίδων κύριος (ſaies *Æſchines*) and had the managing of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty year old: and then either they themſelves, or any elſe that would, might ſue out δίκην ἐπιτροπῆς a Writ *Malè adminiſtratæ Tutelæ*, and have him before the *Archon*. But this muſt be done within five years after the Pupil came to be of age, or not at all.

LIB. VI.

SECTIO I.

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

CAP. I.

De Supplicibus sacris, De Asylis & Aris.

HAving taken this care to see the Marriage of himself, the Education of his children, and the honourable Burial of his Body, it will be expected, that now I say somewhat in commendation of his conditions, & concerning his manner of Life, either towards the Gods, or towards Men. Of his carriage towards the gods, because there has been something already done in that kind, I shall not speak so largely; only a word or two, or more of the customs used in *Supplications* to, & in Swearing by the gods, and then I shall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equals, and giving to the Poor; or his Enemies

Enemies in waging of War. This Treatiſe, becauſe of the diverſity of ſubjects, you have divided into three ſeverall Sections, the firſt of Supplication, called by them ἱκετηρίαι.

The perſon of a diſtreſſed Petitioner (as an abuſed ſlave, or the like) whether he addreſſed himſelf to men, or to the gods, but eſpecially if to the gods, was to be lookt upon as ſacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, ſent from *Dodona's* Vocal Forreſt to the *Athenians*, related by *Pauſanias*.

Φεύζεο δ' Ἀρείοιο πάγον ζωμός τε θυώδεις
Εὐμενίδων, ὅθι χρὴ λαοὺς λιτανεύειν ἱκέτευσι.
Δεῖ πάζομένους, τοὺς μὲ σὺ κίνης σιδήρῳ,
Μηδ' ἐὰν ἐκ δεσμῶν, ἐκέτας ἱερὸς τις ἔχῃσι.

For if he came flying to ſuch or ſuch Altars as were appointed to be Ἄσυλοι, none might touch him upon pain of exilement. And therefore is it that *Polydorus* in *Euripides* makes it ſuch a ground for his confidence: ſaies he

—Βωμοὶ δ' ἐγγὺς· πόλις πάρα, *The Altars are not far off.* So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondring thereat, [a] *what* (ſaies he) *doſt Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode?* And no wonder *they* thus fled to Altars, or that *others* feared to meddle with, or to ſlay any body neer them: *viz.* Becauſe they thought the blood would be upon them that ſhould do it, yea though the Supplicants were already dead in the Law. For ſo the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Creüſa*, *the law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death. True* (ſaies he) *but I muſt be killed by the ſame Law. No matter* (replies the Chorus) *ſit faſt, and if any one kill thee there,*

[b] Πεσεῖται σὸν ἄμυα θάνοντι,

Thy blood ſhall be upon him.

Inſomuch that a great many even among them, ſeeing Maleſactors thus protected from the *Law*, and conſequently encouraged to the *tranſgreſſion*, were bold to complain of the injuſtice of it, as you have *Ion* in the *Tragedy*, thus

Φεῦ· δεινόν γε, θνητοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς δὲ κἀγαθοὺς
Εὐτυχεῖ θεὸς ἐν δὲ γνώμαις σοφοῖς,

[a] Eurip. Hel. v. 805.

[b] Ib. v. 1258.

Τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἀδύτους βωμὸν οὐκ ἔχειν ἰκετῶν
Αὐτὰς ἐξελαύνειν· ἐκ δὲ φαύλου τόλμη
Θεῶν σπανεὶ χρῆσις.

I said before, *such or such* becauſe 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this priviledge, but onely ſix, *viz. Miſericordia, Minerva, Eumenidum, Munichia,* and two of *Theſeus* Temples, one within, and another without the Walls. The firſt of theſe ſome ſay was the firſt *Aſylus* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preſerve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius ad Æn.* 8. *Poſtquam Hercules migravit è terris, nepotes ejus timentes inſidias eorũ quos avus afflixerat, Athenis ſibi primi Aſylum, hoc eſt, templum miſericordiæ collocarunt, unde nullus poſſet abduci.* An example imitated by other people, almoſt in every Country. For they thought that otherwiſe a beaſt had a ſafer condition than a man, ἴχνη γὰρ κατανύξαν ἐὰν μὴ πῦρ, φασὶν οἱ βωμὸν ἔχοντες. But is he now ſafe for ever? yes, unleſs they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we uſe to do Eeles. &c.

In Rud. Act. 3. Sc. 4. And thus he in *Plautus* threatned to do.

Ibo Hercle aliquo quæritatum ignem.

Ignem magnum hic faciam— and *Hermione* in *Euripides* to *Andromache* ſheltring her ſelf by the Altar of *Thetis.* Πῦρ σὺ περιστήσω — on which the Scholiaſt thus, ΕΞΩ ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς καταφεύγουσι τῶν ἱκετῶν. &c. And yet all Ἱκέται or Petitioners were not ſo afraid of a fire. As appears by the name of Ἑστιοῦχοι, which they have from flying to *hearths,* the place for the fire, for refuge: as *Themiſtocles* did, when being *Oſtracis'd* and baniſhed, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Moloſſi* for ſhelter. Otherwiſe none that fled thither could be ſo wicked, but they counted him worſe that ſhould meddle with him. Inſomuch that thoſe who killed the followers of *Cylon* (though they plundred the Temple of *Minerva*) becauſe they killed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themſelves, and all other ſuch *prophane* companions after them, called ἀλιτήριοι; as who ſhould ſay, *hinderers* & ἄσυλοι *of ſupplica-*

ſupplication. Prophane, I ſaid, for it was no better than profanation, according to the Poet, σέφη μαίνεται, the Garlands are *Polluted.* Eurip. in Hercul.

CAP. II.

De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.

PEtitioners both to the gods & men, uſed to go with στέφανοι, Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their hands ἵνα αἱ Κάμοι δοκῶσιν τοῖς, οἷς ἱκετεύουσι (ſaith the Scholiaſt on *Sophocles*) to beget reſpect, and amuſe the beholders. Thoſe green boughs are called by the ſeveral names of θαλοί, θαλλοὶ ἱκετῆρες, ἱκετήριοι κλάδοι, and ſometimes ἱκετηρίαι, for *Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father ſhe would make her own body ſupply the room thus,

a *In Oedip.*

b *In Aul. v.* 1216.

Ἱκετηρίας δ' γόνατά σ' ἐξαιτῶ, πάτερ
Τὸ σῶμα τιμῶν.—

In thoſe boughs they put wool, (as we do ſilk in poſies) and ſo called them εἰρεσιώναι, *vittatas laureas.*

Δήσει μαγίσιν σωφρόνως ἐστεμμένον
Ἀρεῶν τε μαλλῷ. The wool was not ty'd,

Æſchyl. in Eum.

and ſo faſtned to the boughs, but onely wreathed & wrapped up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthra* in the Tragedy of the *Theban women petitioners* (v. 31.) called it λευκὸν ἀλσος στεφάνων the *Tye without a knot.* The *Italians* uſed ſuch boughs too, as it ſeems, for *Virgil* ſaies

Jamque oratores aderant ex Urbe Latina
Velati ramis oleæ veniamq; rogantes.

And *Livy* ſpeaks of the like practice of the people of *Rhodes.* The boughs were either of *Laurel* or *Olive.*

c *Sta. Theb. l. 12*

c *Vittata laurus, & ſupplicis arbor Oliva.*

First, becauſe both thoſe kinds are ἀθάνατοι not *ſubject to withering*, and therefore d *Euripides* gives the latter the Epithete of ἀειθαλὲς: 2ly. Becauſe the Laurel was a ſign of *prevailing*,

d *dis Ion. v.* 1436

and the Olive of peace and good will, as *Lactantius* saies *per quam pax petitur supplicando*. Now the custome was with those boughs, if they were doubtfull of prevailing, to touch but the *knees* of the man whom they petitioned, or of the statue of the God, just as [a] *Lucretia* did γόνατ' αὐτῶν λαβομένη. But if hopefull, the *hands*. [b] ξυνίεσαν ἐμῆς χερὸς δεξιάν. And if confident, the *chin*, and the *cheeks*, ἢ καὶ γενείου [c] γονάτων. It is said by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his νεμ. (where the Poet desires to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he praies for a *Gale* of successe for the *Æginetæ*) that when they desired the parties *consent*, they touched the head to have it *annuere*; when his help, his *helping* hand; when successe, the knee. The last I know no great *reason* for, but *History* enough, even from the *Natural Historian* himself. *Hominis genibus quædam religio inest observatione gentium; hæc supplices attingunt, ad hæc manus tendunt, hæc ut aras adorant.* All *his reason* is, because of the abundance of spirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortasse quia ineſt iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate fossa, seu jugulo, spiritus fugiat.* And therefore *Homer* makes the *Lita*, the *Petitioners Gods to be lame*. As good as that of *Zenobius* ὅτι οἱ κριταὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔκειντο, ἃ νῦν εἰς χαμαιτύπια κάθηνται, *because* Judges *had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.*

If the Petitioners were very fearfull, and the persons of very great quality, they would bow so low as to kisse his feet: as those did to *Cyrus*, Κῦρε καταφιλῶ σὰ πόδας. It was either this kisse, or a kisse of their own hand, which they anciently termed *labratum*. The *old glosse* calls it φίλημα βασιλικὸν, ἢ ἀπαρχὴν βαστάσεως. I have read of a kisse of the hand, when they did their reverence to the Gods, with putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt, which they used in counting the number of ten) and then giving a turn on their right hand, as it is in [d] *Plautus*.

Quo me vertam, nescio. Si Deos salutem, dextro versum, censeo.

The safest place for a Petitioner to men too, as well as to the Gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire

[a] *Dion. Halic. l. 4.*
[b] *Soph. Oed. T.*
[c] *Eurip. in Heracl.*
[d] *In Curculi.*

fire, whether they preſently ran, when they came to any ſtrange place in travel, or exilement, as to the onely Altar of the houſe, and the gods thereof. For according to that of *Cicero* in his *oration for his houſe*, *Nihil ſanctius, nihil omni religione munitius, quàm domus unuſcujuſq; civium. Hic ara ſunt, hic ſoci, hic dii penates, hic ſacra religionis ceremonia continentur: hoc perfugium eſt ita ſanctum omnibus, ut inde arripi neminem fas ſit.* When they had once ſeated themſelves there in the aſhes, in as mournful a poſture as might be, they need not *open their mouths* for pity; neither was it the cuſtome ſo to do: For thoſe *actions* ſpeak loud enough, and an *eye* would ſerve for hearing.

Τῷ δ' ἄνευ, ᾧ ἄναυδοι ἐφ' ἑστίᾳ ἀίξαντες
Ἵζανον. &c

This was the practice of *Ulyſſes* at the houſe of *Alcinous*, and of *Themiſtocles* at the houſe of *Admetus*, but ſo as firſt, by the inſtruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little ſon along with him for his guard, ταύτῃ μαχίσῃ ᾗ μόνῳ ἄλλῳ ἀναπείθειν ἱκετείαν τὴν Μολοσσῶν, the only way *in uſe among the people to obtain a requeſt*.

L. 4. Argon. a Odyſſ. 7. Thucydid.

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for help, their faſhion was firſt to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray that their deſires might be crowned with ſucceſſe.

b Πάντες ᾧ βωμοὶ, οἱ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δόμους
Πεφᾶλοι, κἀξέστᾶσι, καὶ στεφανώμασι
Πτόρθων ἀπυίοισιν μυρσίναις πόλῳ.

b Eurip. in Alceſt.

Their uſual geſture in praying, was to hold up their *arms* right toward Heaven, as c *Helen* ſaies

—ὑρθὰς ὠλένας πρὸς αἰγλᾶν
Πτεροῦν δ'—

c Eurip. Helen. v. 1200.

But to wreſt their *hands* as far as they could upon their wreſts. According to that of *Æſchylus*, where he ſaies of *Prometheus*, that though the gods had tyed him faſt to the hill, his ſtomach was ſo great, that he ſaid he ſcorned to ſubmit or pray *manibus ſupinis*, with *bended hands* like Women and children

children: ἐγγυᾶσθαι ἐστιάσεων χάριν.
Now sometimes, if they obtained their request, and it were a matter of consequence, you should have them relate it to the Priest of the Temple to be registred, or write it down in a Table, and leave it behind them, to shew for a testimony.

CAP. III.

De generibus, & locis sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have observed in reading, concerning their manner of serving their Gods. Their divine services in respect of the cause or occasion, were 1. εὐκτικὰ, or χαριστήρια, *vota, free-will offerings*, services promised and paid for a victory, or the like,

Ovid. Met. l. 9. —*Cenæo sacra parabat*
Vota Jovi. — 2ly. τὰ ἀπὸ μαντείας, *such as were imposed*, and *commanded by an Oracle.*

Sophoc. in Trach. ——Εὐκταῖα φαῖεν ἢ ἀπὸ μαντείας πρέπει.

In respect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were formed) they were done either 1. ἐναγίσεις to the *gods under ground*, and that ἐπὶ ἐσχάρᾳ in a ditch digged, or plowed up for that purpose. The Latine called it *Ara*, such as they used when they sacrificed to the *Heroes*, (for whom they had also ἡρῶα, Temples and Plaies, and what not) together with the [a] Image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to set it forth. 2ly. Τοῖς χθονίοις, to the gods *upon ground*, much in the same manner. And 3ly Τοῖς ὑψίοις, to the gods *above ground*, ἐπὶ βωμῷ, upon an Altar raised up high from the ground, which the *Latines* therefore called *Altare*, and the Greeks [b] ἱερὸν ἐπὶ γῆς, and [c] χαμαίρεφες, as if it were a *work, vallum*, or *agger*, made up of earth cast up together. The distinction betwixt βωμὸς and ἐσχάρα, is set down by the *Scholiast* on *Euripides*

[a] Schol. in Arist. in Avib.

[b] Soph. in Tomb.
[c] Eurip. in Hercul.

[a] Euripides thus βωμὸς *is an Altar built up high with an aſcent of ſeveral ſteps:* ἐχάρα *is as it were one ſtep in ſelfe, after the faſhion of ſome hearths in the figure of a quadrangle.* (Juſt as they made their λάκκοι [b] wherein they powred ſome oyle & wine and tempered it with the duſt, to make cakes for the Divell) The occaſion given them to make this diſtinction, was the word βώμιος ἐχάρα in the Author: whereupon he notes that ἐχάρα was there uſed in a large ſence, for the *hole*, τὸ κοίλωμα or the *concavitie* in the top of the βωμὸς for the fire. At the making of a ξόανον (and ſo at the making of a ſtatue to be worſhipped) they had a cuſtome ἱστᾶν ἐκ μιᾶς χύτρας ἑκατὸν ὠμὰς for women in garments of ſeverall colours, to carry about pots of ſeverall ſorts of boyled pulſe, and to offer thereof to the [b] gods. [c]

[a] *In Phœniſſ.*

[b] Schol. in Ari. ſtoph. Eccleſ.

[c] Schol. in Ariſtoph. in Pluto

——τὸ χύτρας ἑπτὰ θεὸν
Ἱδρυσάμενοι, λαοὶ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸ κεκλῆσθαι φάρμ.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and ſo it may be called χῶμα or *tumulus*, as it uſes to be ſometimes of aſhes, ſometimes of earth and blood tempered together; ſometimes of ſtone, and ſometimes of wood. For the figure, it was ſometimes long, and ſometimes ſquare; but moſt often [d] κυκλοτερὲς round: as the Theatre, the market-places, and their Tables uſed to be. The places where they made their Altars, were uſually *Mountaines* and *high-places* (ſo often objected to the heatheniſh Iſraelites) for according to the Scholiaſt upon theſe words of [e] *Sophocles*, ἢ Οἵαι ζανὸς ὑψίσου πάγου &c. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἦν τῷ Διὶ ἐπωνύμως ὑψίστῳ ὄντι τῷ Διῒ ὀφείλουσι θύειν ἐπὶ ὑψηλῶν τόπων, οὕτως ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ ὄρους ἔθυον, *even ſo Mountaine was called by Jupiters name, or conſecrated to Jupiter, becauſe the god being in a high place, it was fit to ſacrifice to him in a high-place*, to be heard the better; as it was to the terreſtiall gods in a low, to come nearer to them. Beſides, the Altar in ſuch a place, was the leſſe in danger to be got up upon, and profaned, as being kept (as the ſame Scholiaſt ſaies) ἀσύλητον καὶ ἄβατον.

[d] *Odyſſ. ϱ.*

[e] *in Trach.*

Thirdly, in respect of time, some do say, that they sacrificed to the *Heroes*, ἑσπέρας μόνον *in the evening*, and to others in the morning.

a Pind. sc. Isth.

Lastly, in respect of the matter or the thing sacrificed, it was either τῶν ζώων of *living* creatures, properly called θυσία, or else of things *without* life, and those either ξηρὰ dry, as corn and flower, or ὑγρὰ wet, as Wine, or Milke, or Hony, usually called by the name of σπονδαί. The first *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing; and so was all for his ἄγναι θυσίαι, wherein there was no blood, or ἄπυροι θυσίαι, (as *Thucidides* calls them) where there was no smoak, or ἀοίνοις σπονδαῖς, where there was no Wine. But every one else almost like it too well, and no such glorious a businesse as an ὁλοκαύτωμα, *a whole burnt sacrifice*. Sometimes greater than a *Suovetaurilia*, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat: and sometimes but a περίσ of a Sow, a Ramme and a Goat, I hardly believe they ever went so high as an hundred notwithstanding —πολλοὶ ἑκατόμβαι. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Commissaries, unlesse they were robbed of their due: as it seems they were sometimes, by him in the Poet, threatning to complain of one that did so,

b Schol. in Eurip.

c Suidas.

d Arist. in Equit.

Δίκας ἐγὼ σοὶ τὰς ἐνοικίους
Ἀτιμάσαντι τὰς πρυτανικὰς ἐμοὶ
Ἐπεξελεύσομαι.

CAP. IV.

De generibus & formulis jurandi.

OF an Oath, (the son of Strife, and yet the end of all contention) was of two sorts, viz. ὅρκος μέγας, & μικρός, the greater, and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods, or the gods themselves, by the Stygian Lake.

e Hesiod. f Ep. ad Heb. 6. 16.

Idem. in Theogm.

Αὐτὼς δ' ὄμνυσι θεοὺς ἐπιορκήσας ὄμνυμι.

Which

Which is the cause why some fetch the word ὅρκος *An oath*, from *Orcus Hell*. This Oath was then invented by *Jupiter*, and prescribed by him to the rest of the gods, when he had the assistance of *Styx* and his sons against the *Tytans*; or when he dranke of the water, to quench his thirst in the fight. *Servius* sayes (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had sworne false, or broken his oath when he swore by *Styx*, he was to be punished for it in hell nine thousand yeares. Which order, even *Jupiter* himselfe submitted to, and therefore took the more care how he swore, as *Minutius* sayes, *Destinatam enim sibi cum suis coelestibus pœnam præscius perhorrescit*. He that swore either of these wayes, was properly said to ἐπίορκον, and to yeeld himselfe up to the mercy of those that were able to punish him, if he called them to witnesse that which was contrary to his *knowledge* or his *meaning*. So that sometimes it was the custome to adde an imprecation of some evill, wherewith he knew them able to punish him, if they swore false. As *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

Ὄς μὰ Ζῆν' ἀγίλαε, καὶ ἐμὸν κατὰ πότμον ἐμοῖο

By *Jove*, and the sorrows of my *Father*.

The *Womens* oath was commonly by *Juno*, and *by my Lady Diana*; as *Clytemnestra* uses in *Euripides*, μὰ τὸν Ἄρτεμιν, *By my Lady Artemis*, much like the superstitious oath of *By my Lady*, among some of us. The gods, by whom they were to sweare by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Jupiter* Ὅρκιος with three names) viz. Ζεὺς Ὅρκιος, Γῆ, and Ἥλιος. For that *Jupiter* was the proper *Custos juramentorum*, (as I may call him) if it do not appeare, (as some say it does) in the word *jusjurandum*, quasi *Jovis jurandum*, it will sufficiently be proved by the plaine testimony of the Poët, that saies,

Ὅρκιε τἀμὰ γένοιτο.

Eurip. Med. v. 170.

But so farre were they from being contented to sweare by none but *Jupiter*, that not only any other of the gods, but any of their own men lately dead, and thought to be deified, did

serve the turne: as when *Demosthenes* swore by τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, *those that valiantly dyed in the battle of Marathon.* Sometimes for overmuch hast or confidence, or some such reason, they left it to the party, to whom they swore, to chuse any of the gods, whomsoever he pleased to be tryed by: in this manner, ὄμνυμί σοι τοὺς θεοὺς ὁποίους, as we say, *I lay you what you will.* This forme you may find used by *Plato in Phædro*, and *Aristenetus* in his Epistle of [a] *Euxitheus* to *Pytheas.* Sometimes they swore by many gods together in the plurall number, without specifying whom they meant. And sometimes by all their *twelve gods*, (as the *Lacedæmonians* did by *their two* τὼ Διόσκορε, *Castor* and *Pollux*) [b] μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεοὺς— *by the whole jury of the gods.* (neither honest nor true, only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher house, and *Dei consentes*, and so they put them together.) Other times again, they swore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place wherein they were, especially belonged: expressing his name. For so in the Market in buying and selling, or the like businesse, they commonly swore this Oath νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἢ Ἀγοραῖον, *by Mercury.* But then you should have some that out of meer *deisidæmony*, would say no more than [c] μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ δῆτα, with a religious ἀποσιώπησιν, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the *oath by an oath it selfe*, [d] μὰ τὴν, νὴ or μὰ with καὶ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath, and μὰ for a negative.

a *L.* 2. *Ep.* 2.

b *Aristoph. in Equest.*

c *Aristoph. in Ran.*

d *Pind. Nem.*

CAP. V.

De ritibus in Juramento Magno.

THe Customes in taking a *Great* Oath, if it were in a publick manner, and by way of vindication of the truth were these. The Gods used to lift up their hands, as *Apollo*

in

in the Poet bids *Lachesis* χαῖρε ἀράσσας. Little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in severall places. Men when they swore a great oath, laid down their hands upon the Altar, as we do upon the new Testament: whereas in a lesse, or in a private oath, made to such or such a Man, by way of a bargain or a promise, according to the Roman fashion, they laid their hand upon the hand of the party to whom they swore. This Ceremony, I remember, *Menelaus* in a *Euripides* demanded of *Helena* besides the word of her oath.

a *Hel.* v. 834

Ἐπὶ τίσι γ' ἦλθε τοῦδ', ἀξιῶν ἐμοῦ δίκην.

Secondly. To honour the gods by whom they swore, they sacrificed the life of *one* of those three beasts, b σύος, τρώξ, and πάγος, a Boare, a Ramme, and a Goat: or all *three* of every sort one, or three of one of the sorts, as *Adrastus* was made to do of three sheep, in behalfe of the *Argivi*.

b *Aristoph in Lysist.*

— c χαμαὶ τρεῖς τοῦδε τοῦδε μάλα πιαρὰς, which they called μηλοσφαγῶν. Sometimes when they killed a Boare, they cut out the stones (λαὶ & ὄρχις are pretty neare kin) and stood upon them as they swore. A Ramme or a Boare thus used is properly called πιλαι. Perhaps, they used to sacrifice Pigs chiefly (as the Romans did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. And good reason choyce should be made of that beast, rather than any other in swearing to, since there was so great account made of it in other businesses, as solemn as that. For first *Jupiter* was nursed by a Sow (say some) and concealed by the noyse of the grunting: and therefore with the *Grecians* his country men, there might be no initiation without it. Secondly, *Varro* d saith *porcis immolandi initium sumptum à fuillo*, that it was the first beast that was sacrificed, which made some think that ὗς was so called, quasi δῦς, & *Sus quasi Thus*. Nay it was a creature so greatly *sacred*, (or imployed to a *sacred use*,) that *Sacres* by it selfe, is used for little pigges consecrated for a Sacrifice. The flesh that was wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in these was not to be

c *Eurip. Sup.* v. 1200.

d *De Re Rust.*

a Arist. in Lysist. b Eustat. in Il. γ. eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fish. For either they buried it in the ground, or else threw it into the Seas as Talthybius did the Sow, which was sacrificed at an oath of Agamemnon.

CAP. VI.

De juramento Parvo & ejus ritibus.

Μικρὸς ὅρκος, or the little oath, was when they swore by a creature (and their gods were hardly so much) such as per Cranben, or by a Goose or a Dogge, κύων or χὶμαιρα, as the Socraticks did, having that practise commended to them by their owne Master: who (as it is in the Scholies upon Aristophanes) in his twelfth Book περὶ Κυνῶν, had told them that Radamanthus the justest man that ever lived, had expressly forbid them to sweare by the gods, but instead thereof had allowed them the use of a Dogge or a Goose, or a Ramme, or such like creatures. Sometimes they swore by the ground they stood upon, as Hippolytus does, in Euripides.

In Avib.

d V. 1025. —ᾗ σέβω χθονὸς ἕρκος.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made use of. If the matter were serious, you might hear them swearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in Virgil.

e L. 2. *Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante solebat.*

Which was the reason (saies Athenæus) first, why they accounted the head ἱερὸν, holy and sacred. 2ly, Why they did προσκυνεῖν πρὸ φωτὸς, bow the knee at a Soeeze. 3ly, Why the old Philosophers made such a scruple to eate of the head of any kind of creature. And 4ly, Why they used this oath but seldome, accounting it ἀγεννὲς ὅρκον, as Helena called it when she swore to Menelaus, though it were by his head, and not her own. Ἀλλ' ἀγέννου ὅρκου οὐκ ἐμοῦ σέθεν.

The

The Customes used both in the Little and Great Oaths too in abjuring and purging of crimes, were sometimes, creeping upon their hands thorough the fire, or holding in their hands a red hot Iron, (*μυθικὸν* they called it, such a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Scholler *Euripides* took the Sunne to be) supposing (as the Scholiast saies upon *Sophocles*) *καὶ μὴ ἄντικρυς τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον τέλος μιαίνειν, that if they were not guilty of the crime, they should not be sensible of the pain.* Thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like custome, we read to have been in use among the Saxon ancestors, and for the same purpose, under the name of *Fire Ordeal*. For *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confessor, passing blindfolded in the spaces between a great many red-hot Plow-shares laid on the ground: and *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the second holding a red hot Iron in her hand, received no hurt thereby, cleared themselves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they tooke the Iron and threw it into the Sea, solemnly vowing to keep the *Oath* without *breaking*, as long as the Sea should the Iron without *swimming*.

a Schol. Eurip. in Hel.

b Callimach.

—μέχρις ἂν μιαίνῃ μὴ σίδηρος ἐν ὕδρᾳ.

Sometimes (as I have known Boyes do among us) they wrote the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it swom, and the water could endure it, he swore true, but if it sunk, and the water would not suffer it to be seen, he was to be punished immediately without more adoe. And this puts me in mind of the League with the Athenians, which the Poet saies, they would have written in the hollow of a *tripus*, and the *tripus* to be sent to Delphus to *Appollo*, to be there kept for a testimony, and a memoriall.

—ἐν δὲ τρίποδι χρυσέῳ ἐγράψατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,

to be produced when occasion should require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his eighth book *de Clitophontis & Leucippes amoribus*) speaks of a custome, if a Wench were accused of Whore.

Whoredome, to have her make a formall oath of deniall, and having written the oath in a table, to ſtand in water up to the ſhinnes, with the table about her neck. If ſhe were chaſt, and had ſworne true, the water remained as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγείρεται (ſaies he) *the very water growes angry at it, and never leaves ſwelling, till it got up as high as her neck, and cover the table; leſt ſo horrid a ſight as a falſe oath, ſhould look the Sun and the World in the face.*

CAP. VII.

De perjurii religione.

IF a man made a conſcience of ſwearing aright, he was counted religious indeed; Inſomuch that εὐορκος, was commonly uſed for εὐσεβὴς,

a *In Plut.* Οὐδὲ τις εὐόρκου χάρις ἔστιν, ὅστις δίκαιος. in *Heſiod.*

and —εἴ τι χαίρεις εὐόρκοις πράττων. in *Ariſtophanes*[a].

Whereas on the other ſide, when they expreſſed a very wicked man, they made uſe of the word ἐπίορκος *perjurious*. And therefore *Ariſtophanes* (*in nubibus*) ſpeaking of *Jupiters* lightnings and thunderbolts, which ſome ſaid, that they did more hurt to the *wicked* than to others, ſaies he, εἶτα βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους, *if perjured men are only lyable to be ſtruck, how comes it to paſſe that Cleonymus and Theodorus eſcape ſo well? or that the poor Oake tree is ſo often hurt? ἡ γὰρ δρὺς ἐπίορκος, ſince it can never be perjur'd.* Such as were common and cuſtomary ſwearers, for ill making, as well as ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἀρυβάλλοι from Ἀρύβαλλος (ſaith *Heſychius*) the place where the oaths uſed to be adminiſtred. Now for the puniſhment of ſuch vile perſons, they ſuppoſed the furies every fifth day to have a viſitation, and to walk the round, for that purpoſe: according to that of [b] *Heſiod.*

b *Dieb.* Ἐν πέμπτῃ γὰρ φασὶν εἰσιέναι ἀμφιπολεύειν,
Ὁπόσοι ἐπιορκήσωσι—

and

and therefore *Agamemnon*, when he ſwore that he never had to do with *Briſeis*, called the Furies to witneſſe too, as well as the *Earth* and the *Sun*.

——Ἐρινύας τ' αἳ τὸν ὑπὸ χθονὸς
Ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅστις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.

Nay in ſome places, the inſenſible creatures ſeemed to be ſenſible of the ſinne, and ſave the Furies a labour. For I have read that in a Temple at *Palice* a City in *Cicily*, there were certain *crateres* or *fonts*, out of which there roſe ſometimes flames, and ſometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people uſed to reſort from other places, for deciding of controverſies by taking an oath. For if any one ſwore falſe near theſe fonts, he was preſently ſtrucken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Beſides theſe, there were other means of their own appointing to affright men from perjury. Such as that of the Image of *Jupiter* Ὁρκίου, κεῖται τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀγάλματα δίου τὸν ἐν πλαξὶν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the moſt dreadfull manner of any, *viz.* with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of braſſe at his feet, on which were engraven certain Elegiacal verſes, compoſed of purpoſe to terrify ſuch as durſt invocate that god in falſhood. All this moved the *Lacedæmonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet ſaid of them. *Pauſan. in Eliac.*

Οἷσιν ὕπο βωμοὶ, ὑπὸ ποσσὶ, δ' ὅρκος μίσγει.

Which you will ſay is very likely, if you remember the ſaying of *Lyſander*, one of their own Generals, ἐξαπατᾶν χρὴ παῖδας ἐν ἀστραγάλοις, πολεμίους δὲ ὅρκοις, *fallere oportet pueros aſtragalis, hoſtes autem juramentis.*

SECT. II.

De Ritu Convivandi.

CAP. I.

De Læschis, & de tempore victûs capiendi.

WHat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as if an *Athenian* were charitable, and *so he died*) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poor, and among his companions as *merry as a Greek*. Of the goodnesse of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant testimonies, whereby I shall make it appear, how tender hearted they were, not onely to men in *philanthropy*, but even to bruit Beasts. For the first you may hear it from *Demosthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not so safe for such expressions) they brought going on the way, & carried every one something under his arme, to furnish him for his journey, insomuch that at parting he cryed out Πῶς φέρων δυνήσομαι τοσαύτην ἀπολιμπάνειν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ τοσοῦτοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐχθροί, οἵους οὐκ ἂν τις ἄλλαχόθι εἴλοι εὑρών. *How shall I endure to leave such a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where else?* For the last you shall have two pretty instances, as I had them from the same Author. The first is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expell'd the house for killing a Sparrow, which being pursued by another bird fled into his bosome for shelter: Ὡς εἰς ὀπὰ δεξάμενον, saies

a Plut. ad 1591.

(ſaies he) *as if he had not done righteous things.* οὐχὶ τὸν τρόπον χαλεπαίνων ἀλλὰ δι' ἔχθραν τῶν πρόσων, not ſo much out of love to the Sparrow, as hatred to his conditions. The laſt is of one *Praxitiles*, whom for skinning of a Ram alive, they puniſhed much after the ſame manner, as the Ramme was, ἀνοκνωσάντα. The goodneſſe of his nature among his companions, appeared either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and diſcourſe. For there is εὐωχία ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ſaies *Theophraſtus*, *good cheer* in words, as well as in meat and drink. *Ariſtophanes* calls it φαγεῖν τὰ ῥήματα, *eating of words. Plautus*, *comedere ſermones.* And it may be they might be made ſometimes to eat their words indeed, if they parted with ſo much as by all mens report they did. For they were ſo λογοποιοὶ (as the Character terms them) ſo imployed εἰς τὴν σπορὰν τοῦ λόγου, *in diſſeminandis & ſpargendis rumoribus*; and were ſo much given to ſpend their time in nothing elſe, but either *to hear or tell ſome new thing*, * that I wonder with what face, they could call St. *Paul* σπερμολόγον. Though I know ſome do rather chuſe to fetch the word from λέγειν *to gather*, as the Scholiaſt on *Ariſtoph.* interpretes τὸν σπερμολόγον to be τὸν ἀθροίζοντα τὰ ἐμπόρια ἢ τοὺς ἀγορὰς διαβλέποντας ἢ τὰ ἐκ φορτίων διαπίπτοντα ἀναλεγόμενον, *ſuch as watch for looſe things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up.* The places where they met and diſcourſed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for the better ſort: or Trades mens ſhops for the meaner, like the Roman *Taberna*; *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos.* Their meetings in this kind, but eſpecially thoſe in the ſhops and the places themſelves, and the confabulations therein, they called Λέσχαι, κενοφώνους λέσχας ſaith *Euripides*. And yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durſt call the convention indicted by the King, by the name of λέσχη too. Now thoſe ſhops were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb κυρτοῦ λαλία uſed by *Polybius*, e.i. *Barbers talke*, (as we ſay) *Lye like a tooth drawer.* But eſpecially Smiths, and ſuch as made uſe of a Fire, being free for any that would warme them-

Theophr.

* Act. 17. 21.

ſelves, and without any doores, as the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words in *Heſiod. l.* 2. Concerning χαλκεῖον θῦρον &c. Τὸ πλατὺ (ſaies he) τῆ χαλκῷ ἢ πίσσῃ τὸ ἐργαστήριον τὸ θύρᾳ ἔχουσα ἄθυρος ἦν, ἃ δ' ἀέρας ἐπῆλυν. And to this belongs that of *Homer*.

Οὐδὲ θαλασσόθεν χαλκεῖον ἦεν ἰὸν δὲ
Il. Θ. & Σ. Ἱστωτὶς ἀέρρει.

The diſcourſe was for the moſt part *de Lanâ Caprinâ* (as they called it) or *de Cerris Siculis*, childiſh and idle, well befitting ſuch *Geruli ſiguli*, as moſt of them were. But the Philoſophers that met in the ἀέρια, which *Hierocles* ſpeaks of, had better diſcourſe. Theſe places were conſecrated to the honour of *Apollo*, who is therefore ſaid to have the name of Λυκηγενὴς (ſo ſaith *Suidas*; but it ſhould be rather Λυκωρεὺς, ſaies *Meurſius*) the reaſon was, becauſe ſuch meetings were, or ſhould be in the day time; and ſometimes in the *Sun*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, and ſet meale amongſt *themſelves*, was anciently but once a day, at ſupper (as it was with the Romans) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* in ſeveral places) it is not eaſie to determine. Some ſay there were four meales a day, *viz.* 1. Ἀκράτισμα or Ἀκρατισία, the *Breakfaſt*. 2. Ἄριστον, the *Dinner*. 3. Δόρπον, the *Beaver*. 4. Δεῖπνον, the *Supper*. Juſt ſo many *Athenaeus* has, but in this order, *viz.* 1. Ἀκρατισμα. 2. Δόρπον. 3. Ἐπιδόρπια, or (*Veſperna*) 4. Δεῖπνον. Others make but theſe three. 1. Ἄριστον. 2. Δόρπον, 3. Δεῖπνον. You ſee that Δεῖπνον is the laſt meal ſtill, and ſo it is in
In Veſp. *Ariſtophanes*, who after Δορπικὴ *ſupper time*, makes it to be preſently *Bed-time*. To any of theſe meales if they came too late they called it παρὰ δεῖπνον, or ἐκ δείπνου. Which they need not fear, if they had a Bell to call them, as *Plutarch* ſaies they had in the Fiſh market, and therefore terms thoſe, whoſe bellies had no eares, but for the *Bell*, ἀθύρους ἰχθυοκοιλίους.
Sympoſ. c. 4.

CAP.

CAP. II.

De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.

THeir merriment with *others* was when they kept a feaſt. And thus to ſpend their mony, was eſpecially called ἐρανίζειν, and δαπανᾶν: the merriment it ſelfe, by the name of [a] ἑστίασις. Which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* miniſtring to the Gods at a feaſt; and from whence ἑστιάτωρ came to be uſed for a little cup to drink healthes out of. Now a feaſt was of three [b] kinds, 1. Ἔρανος, 2 Γάμος, 3. Εἰλαπίνη. Ἔρανος, otherwiſe called [c] συμβολὴ ἐκ κοινῆς συμβολῆς ἄγειν καταβολὴν δανάνης πολλῶν τινων, was when they joyned or clubbed for it, and every one brought his *Symbolum*, his *part*, [or elſe lay in his *Symbolum*, his *pawn*, or his *earneſt* with the maſter of the feaſt. The earneſt was commonly a ring, as *Terence* ſaies, *dati annuli, loculi, tempus conſtitutum.* And ſometimes any other thing: Which he that laid out the money for the feaſt, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to ſell or do what he would with it. The reaſon why it was not ſo coſtly, and thoſe that were at it, did eat ſo ſparingly, ὅτι ἀπὸ συμφορήτων ἔπινον, was becauſe every one brought his own provender with him, and from thence they were called συμβολοκοῖται *Sodales*: Sometimes they call ſuch a feaſting κατάβολον, from *joyning* as we ſay, or *clubbing*, or *caſting* every one his *lot* into one purſe, πολλῶν καταβολὰς, ἵνα τοῦτο δύνωνται δαπανῆσαι συμποσιάζειν, ſaies *Tzetzes* upon [f] *Heſiod.* And ſo likewiſe ſometimes ἀπὸ σπορᾶς δεῖπνον, from σπείρειν, becauſe the charges came *ſcattered*, or *ſown* by ſeveral hands, which is reſembled very well by the *Sportula* inſtituted by *Nero*. Laſtly ὁ θίασος (they ſay) has been uſed for the ſame, θιασῶται for the company.

a Schol. in Ariſtoph. Veſp.
b Euſtathius in Hom.
b Ariſtoph. & Schol.
c ibid.
c Feſtus.
f L. 2.
Athen. l. 8.

Of this way of Feaſting you have a briefe and large commendation in *Heſiod.*

Μηδὲ πολυξείνου δαιτὸς ἀποτίμησῃς ἴθι,
Ἐν ᾗπερ πλείστη χάρις, ὀλιγίστη δ' ἀλγηδών.

Be not averse from common feasts; for there
The charge the least is, and the most the cheer.

Sometimes you should have a covetous fellow make his γάμος his very *wedding dinner*, in the manner of an ἔρανος: and every one that comes must bring his part with him, and be εἰσφορητός (as *Plutarch* calls the Souldier *that goes a warfare at his own cost*.) This kind of feasting (I think) may very well be named πανδημία, for *that is either when there is meat of all sorts*, or when it is brought to *every man*, or when they sit *highly pigly*, and every one takes where he likes. Ἐλαπίνη (for of γάμος we have spoken already) used to be a little more costly πολυτελὴς. It was thus called either 1. From λαπτειν the *lapping and tipling* in it, or 2. From their gathering together, or sitting in *companies*, ἅτι κατ' εἴλας, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἱλεῖσθαι or ἕλκειν, or 3. From εἵλαι, the *vertigines* or *rounds* used in dances ἐν αἷς ἐχορεύοντο εἵλαι. The company at such a feast were called εἱλαπαγεῖς. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poor Women were left by themselves alone in the γυναικωνῖτις, unless it were to accompany some of their very near friends: according to that of *Cornelius Nepos*, in the beginning of his Book: *Nam neq; in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum, neq; sedet nisi in interiore parte ædium, quæ gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinquâ cognatione conjunctus*. The usual customes in feasting were these. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certain officers appointed for the purpose to discommon them. And to them the Cooks were to repair, to be examined concerning the same. Besides those Officers, there was an εἰσαγωγὸς too, to see how oft, and how much every one drank. And if it appeared that a man was any way ἄκρατος or intemperate, he was to be punish'd by the *Areopagus*. Which perhaps gave occasion to the Drunken unthrifts of those times to call the Greeks ὑποκρατίζειν and

a In *Crass.*

b *Scholia. Aristoph. Pace.*

c *Pindar.*

and μικρολογεῖσθαι, as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed such bite-figges, and cummin-cutters, as they make them, how came it to passe that *Cookery* was so much in request among them, (σεμνὴ δ' ἡ μαγειρικὴ, it is an honourable profession saies *Athenæus*) or that the skill in Physick, Astronomy, and Geometry, was thought so requisite to that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook should be one of the chief officers at a Sacrifice, as they say he was? the last indeed, was very convenient, since a Sacrifice and a feast so well agreed that commonly either the later followed the former, or instead of invitations, they sent their friends a peice of the victime. L. 4.

—ἡ τὰ δ' ὀπτὰ
Ταῖς Νύμφαις, Μόρσιμος ἐλθὼν εὐθὺς αὐτίκα πέμψον.

—as soon as you
To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to *Morsus* too.

CAP. III.

De more salutandi, Symposiarchâ, Coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de mensis.

WHen the guests were come, the manner of salutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a *pot*, and kisse them, and such a kisse as this they called κῶμα *a pot*. The fashion of kissing the lips was but of latter daies, and *osculum* may be *osculum* upon any thing so it be from the *mouth*. Anciently they used to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and sometimes upon the head, or the shoulder, or the neck like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher than the hand, with an imbracing of the body, as *Xuthus* desired to do to *Ion*, *Pollux. l. 9. c. 24.*

Εὖγε· θίγω σου χειρὸς, ὦ παῖ, σώματός τ' ἐμοὶ φίλας. *Eur. Ion. v. 578.*

Imbracing was the most usuall salutation. Insomuch that (if you will believe the Scholy) the word ἀσπάζεσθαι used to signifie to *Salute*, does properly signifie to *embrace*, as being derived *On Aristoph. Plut.*

derived (saies he) ἀπὸ τῆς πάγης καὶ ἅμα εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπάγειν. The compellation to such as they respected was usually ἄνερ, *vir honeste, worthy Sir*, rather than κύριε, *Domine*, or *Master*.

Eurip. in Suppl.

—δειπνοκλέπτας, τίμιον ἄγαλμα τοῦ

Till the meat came up, the Guests spent their time, in observing and commending the conveniences of the house, and the houshold stuffe, and the like, according to *his* instructions in *Aristophanes*.

Εἶτ' ἤνπερ εὖν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων

Ὀσφρῶν διέσω—

a Vesp.

The δειπνοκλέπτης, the Master of the house, shall I say, or the Master of the Feast? or rather the *founder* of the feast, (for συμποσιάρχης the Master, was many times no more than a Master-steward, or b συμποσίου ἐπιμελητὴς the Caterer chosen by a company at a Collocation) presently had his γραμματίδιον brought him in by the Cook, i.e. a *note* containing the several sorts of dishes which they were to expect. Now in some feasts, to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman *Mediterator*, and the fashion yet in use in *Italy*, and among us on *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who should be βασιλεὺς *King*: and he to whose lot it fell, was to have the whole command of all, for matter of drinking, or ceremonies, without any restraint. Which sometimes prov'd too *tyrannical*, as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow οἶνον ἢ κατάχυσιν ἢ κρανᾶν *to take the drink in his mouth, or have it flung in his face.*

b Pollux. l. 2. c. 8.

All this while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of Frankincense and Myrrhe upon the hearth. Either that the sense of smelling too, might have a *tast* of the mirth, (ἐυωδίας ἕνεκεν for *smell feast*) or else to stop the mouthes, and the *angry noses* of the gods to whom, before they eat any thing themselves, they used to offer a tast of the best of every dish. But how they did it I know not, unlesse they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did.

c Athenæus. lib. 14

—ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ κάλλιπε δυκλὰς.

The

The Guests before they sate down, used to crown their heads with Garlands, made for the most part of Myrtle, and so I remember the bold guest in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drink, —στέφη δ' ὡραῖα μυρσίνου κλάδου, *bound* his head with *Myrtle bought* to *secure* it from aking, and the Romans it seems agree with them herein, for saies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry,

Nunc decet aut viridi caput impedire myrto.

Καταψύχειν τὸ κεφάλαιον, saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Avib.*

The use of these Garlands was to coole the head, and so to restraine the heat of the Wine. Neither did they *crown* their heads onely, but *anoint* them too, as if he had been going to *wrestle* with the strength of the liquor: for so saies *he in Vespis*

—γυμνασιῶν
Ὑγρὸν χρῖσαι σταγόνι.

Ovid and the Romans knew of this too it seems

—*habent unctæ mollia serta comæ.*

Using it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether, or to open the pores, and let them out as soon as they came. For the same end was it, that the herb *crambe* was so much used in their feasts, as it was also among the Ægyptians; and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy said to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, so great, that it will not endure to grow near it; which antipathy (say they) has been in it ever since * *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting down all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkennesse, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twigges, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare presently sprung the *crambe*, so called *quasi* Κορέμβλη, from Κόρη, or *Pupilla* the *Apples*, or the *Babies* (as we say) in the eyes, to which it is thought to be hurtfull.

* Ἀχ. On Aristoph. in Equit. Act. 1. sc. 3.

Besides anointing, there was washing too, both before and after meat; *that* before, had a peculiar name of ὕδωρ χεὶρ χυτὸν. the other they call ἀπονίψασθαι.

Their *posture* at eating was lying upon στρωτοῖς λέκτροις (imitated by the Roman *lectis*) with a ἱμάτιον a *mat* close by, which had bed clothes, and all to sleep upon. Those στρωτοὶ were usually covered with skinnes: according to that in the [b] Poet of one that lay sporting upon a full belly.

a Poll. l. 6. c. 2.

b Aristoph. in Eq.

Ῥίγχει καθεύδων ἐν τοῖν Σύρτοιν ὕπτιος.

And sometimes with Tapistry, for the better sort: for with such *Achilles* his Embassadours are entertained in *Homer*,

—πάντοθι τε στορέσσατο, [c]

c Il. 10.

The manner of lying was on their sides, and leaning upon their elbowes: and therefore *Silenus*, in *Euripides*, bids *Cyclops* (when they sate at meat upon the ground) Ὡς ἂν πρὸς ἀγκῶνα εὐρύθμως, *to place his elbow handsomely*. They rewed their feet upon a ὑπόπους, or a *foot-stoole*: such a one as *Juno* would bestow upon *Somnus* for the same use.

Τῷδε ὑπαγκάλισ' ἁμερὰς τὰς ἐμὰς ἐπιπάζων.

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Vespa*, asking how he should sit, was bid κρᾶτ' ἐκτείνειν, to *stretch out his knees*. The table was ordinarily *Tripus*. Unlesse the man were of a higher *stomach* than he that said, *Sit mihi mensa tripes*: for then it might be of another fashion. But usually it was made with three legs, and an ὀπίσθιον upon it, called ἄλυς (in imitation of the *Tripus* at *Delphos*) to be taken off, and set on, as they had occasion. Of what fashion soever it was, they used to reverence it with a great deale of religion: so as not to have any uncivil or prophane or immodest discourse, as long as they sate at it. For why (saies *Synesius*) it *is holy* and *consecrated* to *Jupiter* ἑταῖρος, and ξένιος. Which gave occasion to that expression of *Demosthenes* πρὸς δ' ἄλλοις οὐ γέλωτας οὐ παιδιάς; And to *Juvenal's reverentia mensæ*. The [c] first that ever dared to profane the *table*, were the Women that killed *Tereus* his son, and served him up in the dish.

Ep. 57.

d Π. ἑστ. Sat. 2.

Paus. in Phoeb.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THe Greeks (they say) in ancient times, as well as other people, were contented with Masts and Acornes: for their bread at least, if not for their Meat. And there were βαλανεῖς, people imployed of purpose to gather them. There was no *Cereale solum*, in those dayes, no fear of *mensas consumimus*. 'Twas enough for the luxury of *later* dayes, to make *paniceas mensas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In allusion to the use of this food [a] A. *Gellius* saies that the Romans made their *civica corona* of *Oaken* boughs, *quoniam cibus victusq; antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit. In remembrance of their oaken diet.* After mast, they lookt lower and found better food in barly. For that kind of corn was the [a] first in use. Afterward, when fine Wheat, and teeth came up, it was made a punishment to use it, as [b] *Suetonius* saies, *decimatas hordeo pavit.* Their way of using corne at *first*, before that Mills came up (ἀ μ. ἄλες, said to be invented by *Myla*,) was to roast it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth: and then *pinsere* to *beat* it, and *knead* it into hard lumps or *loaves*. Those that did this, the Romans called *pinsores*, which afterwards came to *pistores, bakers*. We read of קלי *parched stuffe* among the Israelites too, even there where we read of flower, and so it was not for need that they used it. In time it came to varieties: and I also might say a great deale concerning them; as likewise of their usual dishes at feasts, both of fish and flesh. But you may have enough in *Athenæus* with little paines and lesse profit. Only I desire to observe one thing, that of all the parts of a beast, the braine might by no meanes be seen upon a table. For they loathed to eat it, as much as a *Pythagorean* could to eat a *bean*: and thought, that none but he that had lost his senses, would offer to devour that, from

Virg. Æn.

L. 5. c. 6.

a *Artemidor* l. 1. c. 71.

b In Aug. c. 24.

Serv. ad Æn. 1.

2 Sam. c. 17. v. 28.

which all the *senses* had their *life*. Nay ἐγκέφαλον the *brain* might not be in their mouthes to *speak* it, as well as to eate it. And therefore *Sophocles*, when he speaks of *Lychas* his throwing from the rock into the sea, and dashing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the brain *white marrow of his head*.

In Trach.

Κἀμοῦς ἀδοῦς μυελὸς ἐκχεῖται μέσου
Κρατός—

Hecuba in *Euripides* speaking of *Astyanax* his throwing down from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the same manner, calling it ἱερὸν ἐγκέφαλον φίλον, adding withall ὅσ' αἰσχρὰ μὴ λέγου *with reverence be it spoken*.

But as for the Entrals, σπλάγχνα, no dish so common as that; insomuch that you should have some covetous fellowes make a feast of nothing else. Such a feast they called more peculiarly ἔρανον, or συμβολικὸν τροπέζιον. The meat was served up in dishes of wood, or of brasse (for the better sort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drink*, which they had at feasts during meale time, was usually wine mingled with water to allay the strength of it. And this mixture they say was the invention of *Amphyction* (him whom they report to have first instituted the meeting of the seven Cities called *Concilium Amphyctionicum*) but I have another story for you from * *Athenæus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Physitian, and it is this. When *Bacchus* first brought his Vines from the *Red-sea* into *Greece*, the people came presently flocking to the Sea side, and fell so immoderately to the liquor, that some became dead drunk, and some raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a sudden tempestuous showre, when they returned again, found some of the raine *mingled* with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, οὐκ ἐμεθύσθησαν, notwithstanding found no such effects as the former did, but continued sober. This (they say) is the person that at the first bringing in of the κρατῆρα, or

* L. 15.

mixed

mixed wine to the table, they uſed to remember Διὰ Σοτῆρος, *Jupiter* the ſounder of the rain, and the *mixture*. To which they added the *health* called Διὸς Ὀμβρίου, if the feaſt were a *victors* feaſt, and ἀγωνοθέτου, if it were a Wedding: altering the name of the health, according to the occaſion of the feaſt. And yet *Sophocles* ſeems to make the third round to be to *Jupiter Servator*.

Σωτῆρι τῷ Διὶ τοῦτο.

Preſently after meale came in ἄκροθι the Wine *in partis naturalibus*, whereof (it may be) ἀκροθίνια, *promuliſi*, or *guſtatio*, the *firſt taſt* before they went to eating uſed to be. The great *Crater* being filled, the *Symposiarch* began a health, either to the *good genius* (to whom they meant to indulge) or to the *goodly* god that invented the liquor. This health is called *Poculum* not *Charitaſii*, but ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος: and ſo to drink it ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, make it a religious buſineſſe, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink-offering, as he ſaies Σπένδω τῷ ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι. And many times they prayed too, crying out ὦ ἀγαθὲ δαίμων ἀγαθή. Some ſay, this health was at the beginning of the feaſt. But they did but ſip at it, and therefore *Heſychius* interprets ἀγαθοδαιμονιασταὶ for ἀκροποταὶ, *little drinkers*. The laſt health of all, which they drank juſt as they went to bed was to *Mercury*, as to the god of ſleeping and dreames.

—Ἑρμῆν τοίνυν
Οἱ πάντες εὐνάζουσιν.

for that was the reaſon (ſaies *Athenæus*) διὰ τί ἔθος ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλεῖν. Yet ſome ſay it was διὰ πλείω. Ἀσκὸς, the bottle or veſſel out of which they filled the Wine, was uſually made of the skinne of a *Boare*. And therefore in *Lyſiſtrate* (*Ariſtophanis*) it is called by the name of κάπρος, and the Wine αἷμα *blood*, and the powring out σφαγὴ *ſlaughter*, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they called it φιλοφρόνως κύλικα, or φιλοφροσύνην *a cup of good friendſhip*: and ſuch kind of expreſſions πρόποσις, *takings, or pledgings*: according to that

Ariſtoph in Eq.

In Veſp.

——χρυσοῦς ἀνὰ κύλικας
Δοὺς ἐκπιεῖν ἐδίδου——

And thus if a great man kept the feast, when he drank to his favourite, he gave him the cup to keep. But if he drank a health to one whom he loved (ἐρώμενον or φίλον his friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himself, and bestowed the rest upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would sit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himself waking till morning, had a μάζωμα, a cake made of flower and bony for his labour, just as the women use to have in the *Thesmophoria*. In such mad fits as these, they were wont to have γρῖφοι riddles proposed, which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depart unless he had leave, (perhaps it was unless he took his leave) of the Master of the feast. And here I might easily speak enough of their κῶμοι, but I think a *little* is sufficient, and *that* I have done already.

Now the cups wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls hornes, ὡς φησι Φίλων, saies the Scholiast upon *Nicander*, ἐπειδὴ ἐν κέρασι. Insomuch that the word κεράσαι, to fill drink, seemed to be derived from κέρατα these *hornes*. *Scilicet*. Hence it was that they used to picture *Bacchus* with *Bulls hornes*. Nay the *Argivi* made his picture *all* Bull, which occasioned some to call him down-right by the name of *Taurus* a Bull. And the reason of those phancies was (saies the Scholiast) διὰ τὸ ταυροποιὸν τὸ πώμασι, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐδόκει τὸ ἀλλοῖον for the strange (saies he) or rather the *Bull-wood* carriage of those that use his Liquor. But the best is, *dat Deus immitis cornua curta bovi*. Afterward they grew weary of hornes, and came to their canues, which they seem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his sake too no question, to whom the wood belongs) Πολλῆς δ' ἐν χέρσιν κισσοῦ κλῶνος λαβών.

Eurip. Alc. v. 756.

CAP.

CAP. V.

De iis quæ à discumbentibus fieri solebant.

FOr their behaviour at a table, ſpitting and coughing, and ſpeaking loud, was counted uncivil in any, but a Gentleman (as we ſay in the Univerſity, that nothing is freſh in a Senior) and to him it was a glory ἐν παχεῖ πτύειν, ſaies *Stobæus*, to *ſpit ſtoutly*, or as *Quintilian* calls it, *clarè excreare*; as it is among us for great men to ſit and eat careleſſly. But *paring of nailes* was ſuch a *forbid* thing, that no gentility could bear it out. *Heſiod* (as tis thought) long ſince *abominated* the *incivility*, or what ſhall I call it, to hit his meaning.

Μηδ' ἐπὶ νηκτίζοιο θεῶν ἰὼν ἄπτεσθαι δαιτός
Αὖον ἐπὶ χλωρῇ τάμνων αἰζηὸς ἀμύρῃ.

Nor from the *five-branch'd green* do with a knife
At feaſting cut the *wither'd* for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his *waiſt*, or his *Pedee*, to whom they uſed to deliver τὰ ἀπόφορητα, choice bits, or ſuch dainties as they liked beſt, to keep, or to carry home with them: but I muſt confeſſe it was counted ſomewhat *baſe*: and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very *high* feaſt indeed, and *open* houſe. Thoſe boyes or ſervants were commonly *Black-moores*, after the faſhion of the Romans,

—tibi pocula cursor
Getulus dabit, aut nigri manus ossea Mauri.

Your *weighty portions*, which we read of, were another thing, as a piece of the Victime at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choiceſt diſhes at a feaſt, ſent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were abſent. For ſuch *Plutarch* reports to have been ſent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he ſacrificed at *Corinth*: and *Ariſtophanes* (in his *Acharnans*) by the Bride at a Wedding.

Ἐπεμψέ τις σοι τύμβριδ' ταυτὶ τρία
Ἐκ τ' γάμων

And

And indeed not onely the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembring their friends in this kind: for the Jewes both at Sacrifices (as * *Elkanah* did to his Wife,) and also at feasts (as those were bid to do by [a] *Nehemiah*) used to send מנות *portions to them, for whom nothing was prepared.* When they had greased their fingers, they would take a piece of soft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the doggs, and from thence came the proverb *tanquam canis vivens è magdalia*, or rather (if you will) *apemagdalia*, for so they called such a piece of bread from ἀπομάσσω *to wipe*, such a thing as their Cooks σμῆγμα or χειρόμαγδαλον, a piece of *course bread*, which they had for the same use.

1 Sam. 1.4.

[a] Nehem. c. 8. 10

The *desert* consisted of *nuts* and *fruit*, and all sorts of *junkets*: they called this service by the several names of [b] ἐπίθεμα, τραγήματα, ὀπτοφρύματα, ὀπταμπεζώματα, ὀπτοβρῶσις, μυσταδόρπια, *Epidorpia mensæ*. And now to *crown* all with dauncing and musick, which *Homer* calls [c] ἐπαοιδύματα ἐντύνειν (usually accompanied with ἀγχιάλοντα, *merry songs*, and *tales*) because they themselves spent most time in *practising* it, I shall be bold to spend a little the more in relating it.

[b] or ἐπίθεμα.

[c] *Coronas Convivii.*

CAP. VI.

De cantu Convivali, & Scoliis.

ALthough *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras*, speaks against the use of Musick at a *Feast*: and *Euripides* says it were better used at a *Funeral*, to make the Mourners merry: yet you shall find *Xenophon* himself (in himself) *commending*, and *Phemius* (in *Homer*) *practising* the same. Now the custome was when they came to dancing & the Musick (whereof at *Meal-time* lesse cups would serve) *then* to have greater, and a *fresh* bowle (κρατῆρες) to begin with, for such a one they had at every *change*, if they observed that fashion we read of in *Euripides*.

Odyss. 1.

Ἐνὶ δ' ἰλεΐαισι ἴων ἐν κεντέσι πυκνοῖς
Ἔστη, χἠρωὶ ἴσαζον, ἀνὴρ ἀνδροφόνον τε θοόν τε
Ὀρσίλοχον τὸν Μόρμυος, ὃν ποτε Φαίνοπι κούρη
Ἐν Πηδαίῳ τέκε Μόρμυος ἀντιθέοιο.

Iliad. v. 1177.

The ſong moſt common among them was *Harmodius*: So called, (juſt as *Hymenæus* is from a man of the ſame name, and as we call *our* ſongs *Chloris* and the like) becauſe it was ſung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicidæ* that put an end to the tyranny of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death: and of whom it is reported that the ſtrumpet *Leæna* (as *beaſtly* a name as *Lupa*) ſo faithfully loved their bodies, that when ſhe was racke by the Tyrant, to diſcover their conſpiracies, ſhe bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and ſpit it in his face. The beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, Φίλτατε Ἁρμόδιε, οὔ τι που τεθνηκώς, &c. You have mention of it in *Ariſtophanes* his *Acharnenſes*, and his *Veſpæ*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*, or a ſong to the praiſe of *Admetus*, (for moſt of *their* ſongs, as well as thoſe of the *Romans*, tended to the praiſe of one famous Worthy or other, (It began thus, Ἀδ. μήτε λίην ὦ ἄναιρε μαθὼν, τοῦ ἀγαθὸς φίλον, Ἀδ. ἡμῖν δ' ἀπίκν, &c. where you may obſerve the oppoſing ἀγαθὸς to δειλὸς. For ſo you ſhall find κακὸς, commonly for a Coward in Heathen writers, who reckoned *virtutem* (as they called it) *valour*, and *fortitude*, the ſole *virtus* worthy the name. Beſides theſe two which I have named, you ſhall find a great many more ſuch in Authors, under the name of Σκόλια. I ſhall only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, againſt *riches*.

Ὦ πλοῦτε πλοῦτε πᾶσι θνατοῖς
Μήτ' ἐν γῇ, μήτ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ, μήτ' ἐν ἠπείρῳ
φανήσῃ.
Ἀλλὰ πέρατά τε βαίνων ἀ Ἀχέροντα
Διὰ σὲ πάντ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔπαθον.

Vid. Sch. in Ariſtoph. Ran.

Thoſe kind of ſongs which they called Σκόλια, were firſt invented by one * *Terpander*. They were ſo called either firſt

Plutarch. de muſ.

διὰ τὸ σκολιὸν τῶν κλινῶν (saies the Scholiast upon *Ranæ*,) from the *crooked* placing of the beds, and the lying of the guests upon them. Or else 2. (as the Scholy saies upon the same Poet in *Vespis*) from the *flexuous* disorderly manner in the singing. For there were in use among the Greeks (saies *Dicæarchus ἀπὸ μουσῶν Ἀγῶνι*) three wayes of singing songs at such meetings, the first ἐπὶ κύκλου, by all together. the 2. καθ' ἕνα, by one after another in order as they sate, the 3. one after another, but ἐμμελῶς, not in order, and ἐν ἀντιστάσει, either by such as had best skill, or by such as he that sung last, should please to choose. I say to choose, for in singing a *Scolium*, as tis properly used, this was the custome. He that *Scolied* first took him a Myrtle rod, called σκόλιον from σκολὸς and ἴσχω, & holding it in his hand like a *thyrsus* (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*,) begun in any place of *Simonides*, or *Stesichorus*, or *Æschylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleased. The verses which they sung, they called by the name of σκολιὰ, or ῥαβδωτὰ, or σκυφικὰ, from the σκύφος, or the rods, as being *aptæ virgæ*, in the words of *Apuleius*. When he had done, he delivered his bough to whom he thought fit, and he to whom the bough was delivered, was to go on where the other left off: and thus it went round till all had done. And then he that was judged by the company to come off best, and have *capt* the rest, had his ἐπινίκιον (as they called it) *a cup*, or some such thing for his reward. Unless they sung some of *Homers* verses, for then both the bough was *Laurel*, and the prize a *Lamb*, from whence they were called ἔπαθλοι, as well as *Homeristæ*. Others say it was the custome presently after the taking away, to have a harp to go from one to another, and every one as he was best able, or as his mind gave him, to sing to the Harp, with a bough in his hand besides. A third reason of the name is given by *Orus* (a Grammarian:) *viz.* because the *eye*, and the *understanding* of those that sung, were by over strong drink become σκοτεινοὶ, or ἀσαφεῖς, *diss or-*

*Schol. in Ran.

Eustath. Il. 1.

* Aristoph. in Nub.

distorted, as they are in Mad-men (ὀμματα ἰρδὸν, & ἰρδὸς φρὴν, right eyes and a right mind, are put [a] together in the *Poet.*) 4. The song was called Σκόλιον, (saies the [b] Scholiast) by the Figure *Antiphrasis*, because it was least difficult of any, and μάλ' ὀλίγοις συνὸν, *consisting but of a few staves*. But this etymology in another place of the same book is utterly disliked, τὸ δὲ Σκόλιον ὅτι τὸ ἐναντίως μεταλαμβάνεσθαι, ὃ μὴ τίμιον ἄλλο, *because that figure Antiphrasis is always by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name. Origen* (they say) wrote a Poem, wherein he briefly comprized all such things, as seemed to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of *Scolia*. [c] *Pericles* is said to have made his Lawes, in the manner of *Scolies*. I think not for any obscurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

a *Soph. in Oed. Tyr.*
b *In Ranis.*
c *Arist. in Ran.*

Τὸ Σκόλιον, is not opposed (whatever it may seem to be) to that which they call τὸ ὀρθὸν μέλος (which might be sung by one alone, whereas the *Scolies* could not) so called, not because it was sung *right* along and in order: but either because the persons sung ἰρδὸν, that is, (as *Suidas* expounds it) *altâ & erectâ voce, with a long blast*, (like *the trumpet in Judges c. 7. 5.*) or because it was sung κατὰ νόμον ὀρθὸν, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* saies *Arion* plaid after that way upon the ship, and *Eustathius* and *Suidas* say that *Timotheus* playing after that manner to *Alexander*, ἐξέστησε Ἀλέξανδρον ὥστε &c. *So moved his spirits, that he leapt immediately to his armes and took them up to fight.* Instead of *Scolies*, sometimes you should have whole *Comedies* acted, and then none so soon as *Menanders*.

But amidst all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableness and uncertainty of their conditions, (for this they say was the use they made of them) they had their σφαῖραν, *oscilla*, or *ofsicula*, like those which they use at *Rome* at the feast *Sigillaria*, or such as [d] *Augustus* is said to have plaid with (*talis aut ofsiculis ludebat cum pueris*) things so artificially made with joynts and pins, that in so many throwes they

d *Suet.*

they would yield you a thousand shapes, or *mouthes*, or *faces*. *Petronius* having at a certain feast thrown those things on the table, presently cryed out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, *viz.* to be merry therefore while he might.

Heu, heu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est?
Sic crimus cuncti postquam nos auferet orcus.
Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene.

And just so the Ægyptians us'd at feasts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin: for he that brought him in bid every one εἰπὼν πίνε καὶ τέρπου, ὡς μετὰ τοῦτον τοῦτον, *to eat and drink, for to morrow he should die.*

Herod. l. 2.

CAP. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

A *Stranger*, whether you take it for a *Guest* or for an *Alien*, so it were not a *God*, was alwaies had in so religious esteem at *Athens*, ὡς δεινὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον νομίζοντες, εἴ τις ἀδικοίη ξένον, *that* (as the *Scholie* saith upon * *Euripides*) *if any one wronged a stranger*, he *was looke upon as a prosane curst fellow*: according to the Poet himselfe in another * place.

*In Helen.

—Let go the strangers hands,
Which being sacred may not be in bands.

*In Taur. v. 468

And good reason, for —πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες ξένοι— all strangers have *Jupiters* own Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* no *malus*, as ξυμαὶν. Now this esteeme they had. First in obedience to the Lawes of Ζεὺς ξένιος, or ξένιος, you may call him *Jupiter hospes*: for * *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* speaks of *Jovis hospitis ara*, an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhospitall people, for *their brutish inhumanity*, are said to have been turn'd into *Cerastus*, bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius*, as much as he was for the *strangers*, was notwithstanding better *known* and honoured than any of the *Jupiters* besides, according to that of *Plutarch*, ξενίοις Διὸς πομπαῖς

*L. 10. Fab. 6.

ἢ

ἐμπορίαν, as if he had cared more for them than other people.

Jupiter, hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur. Virg. Æn. 1.

I remember indeed once to shew how well he was pleased with that virtue of hospitality, being in his travels in *Phrygia* with *Mercury*, lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body else would receive him, in requital thereof he preserved the house from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly. In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expressly commanded them τὸν ξένον μὴ ἀδικεῖν, *not to wrong a stranger*. And this made *Aristippus*, upon *Socrates* his information, presently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. Nay saies *Tully* *Execrationibus publicis sanctum est &c.* (speaking of refusall to shew a stranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of *publique execrations*. Xenoph. l. 3. Απομν. L. de Offic.

If a *stranger* had received any wrong (because they might not be so *familiar* as to do it themselves) there were πρόξενοι, allowed of purpose to plead for them, as well as πρόξενοι to entertain them. Unlesse you will say that these last officers were not for ξένοι that is *hospites*, such as tarried a while and away; but for ξένοι, that is μέτοικοι, *inquilini*, such as set up their habitation in the place where they came. For those were made to pay their μετοίκιον, an yearly rent to the City, the men twelve, and the * Women six Drachmes, which if they did not pay they sold them, and put them into the ships for Gally slaves, as not reckoning them *clean* corne, and true Citizens, any more than * Aristotle; but onely (In the words of *Aristophanes*) ἄλογα καὶ ἄθλια, *the outcasts and chaffe*, and no more. Even the *Grecians* themselves (as *evill beasts* as they were) seem to have had *humanity* enough in this respect. Otherwise what meant their ξενικαὶ πρόκλισαι, two distinct Tables, and a Chamber kept a purpose for strangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, so much valued the hospitality shewed by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to spare his house alone. * Iseus contr. Eubulid. * L. 3. Polit. Athenæ.

I must confesse indeed the *Lacedemonians* bear but ill for their ξενηλασία, and *Lycurgus* his Law against admittance of strangers, but upon certain daies, and their dealing deceitfully with them then too. Which made the Poet (even in *Pace*) brand them with the name of δυσξεινοι. Nay it is said how that they never made any λειτουργίαν, (as they called it) *free of their City*, but onely two. *viz. Tisamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But I still hope, their ξένοι *strangers*, were all one with οἱ βάρβαροι *Barbarians*, for whom the word is often used, saies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiast upon *Homer*. For else certainly *Plato* would never have given such commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the *nature* of (as we usually take it) *policy*, as it is inconsistent with the *name* of πολιτεία, to care most for ones *private* good.

CAP. VIII.

De Hospitibus excipiendis.

IF the *Athenians* were so kind τοῖς ξένοις, to *every stranger*, properly so called, what were they (think you) τοῖς ἰδιοξένοις, to their *own strangers* (as we use to call it) or to their sworn *guests*? Those had their ἀρύβαλλον, or σύμβολον, or *tessera hospitii*, something or other like a ticket, to shew for their quarter when they came: such as *Iason* in courtesy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

Ξένοις τε πᾶσιν σύμβολ' οἱ δέχεσθ' ἐμά.

So farre were the ξενοδόκοι, those that entertained guests (you may call them ξένοι too, for it is a name for both, like *hospes*, perhaps to shew their near relation) from so much as suspecting a returne of hatred for kindnesse, that it cost *Dio* no lesse than his life. Who though he were forewarned of an intention of *Callippus* his guest to murther him, took no care to avoid him, αἰσχυνθείς, *being ashamed* (saies *Plutarch* in his chapter *de vitioso pudore*) φυλάττεσθαι φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον to *beware*

ware of one that was his friend and *guest* too(as if that were more.)

The manner of entertaining ſtrangers was this. As ſoon as ever they ſaw him [a] δῶτον ἀπαλλόντα πρῶτον, the firſt care they had, was to have ſomewhat for him to eate. *Egredien-tem illico è navi adduxit ad cœnam*, ſaies [b] *Terence*. When he came to the doore (as ſome ſay) they both joyned *feet* on the threſhold, and there mutually engaged themſelves to be true and truſty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad oſtium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium.* And therefore *Hoſpes* is ſaid to be derived from *hoſtium*, or *oſtium* a *door*, and *pes* a *foot*. When he came in, they called for the *Strangers bottle* (as he ſaies in [c] *Electra*, δεῦρο δὸς πάλιν ξένοις) and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (ſaith *Athenæus*) οὐ τὸν ξένιον ἀλλὰ τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλ' ὃ τοῦ δὲ τιμῶν, as giving him honour, *becauſe he was a ſtranger, not becauſe he was this or that particular man.* Now they uſed Wine rather than any other liquor (ſaies the ſame Author) becauſe they took it to be ἀκακὸν πρὸς ἅπαντα, πρὸς εὐφροσύνας δὲ καὶ ψυχὴν &c. *Powerfull to warme the affection too as well as the ſtomach.*

a *Pindar.*

b *In Heaut.*

Vetus Diction.

c *Eurip. v.* 511.

Idem.

Ibid.

The next thing they preſented him with, was ſalt: intimating their friendſhip muſt be ſeaſoned with good carriage, as it might keep long and ſweet. All the time of his being in the houſe, this reſpect be had. They made their own Daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay and to bring him water in a Baſon, and waſh his feet with their own hands. As may be proved by ſeveral places in *Homer* both obſerved and approved by *Athenæus*, who * L. 1. makes it to be an ancient cuſtome παρὰ Ὁμήρῳ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας λούειν τοὺς ξένους, ἀρχαῖον ἦν τοῦτο, ἴδιον (ſaith he.) 2. They allotted ξενῶνας, Chambers a part from the reſt, of purpoſe for ſtrangers. Which puts me in mind of *Admetus* in the Poets *Alceſtis*, who when *Hercules* coming to his houſe in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted ἄῤῥητον, ſo

d V. 549.

unfit

unfit to be ſeen by the ſacred eyes of a ſtranger (as he there ſaies) was therefore about to be gone again, replyed; *no ſuch need, good Hercules, notwithſtanding the mourning in the houſe.*

χωρὶς ξενῶνες εἰσίν, οἷς σ' ἐστέξομεν. *For we have Chambers on the other ſide of the houſe, which we keep onely for ſtrangers, and you ſhall be there.*

3ly, When they ſate at Meales, they had a table alſo to themſelves, as may be conjectured by that which *Oreſtes* had at his being at *Athens.*

Eurip. Electr. v. 849.

—ξένια μοι τράπεζά τε
Πάρεχον οἴκων

Laſtly they had τὰς καρεδρίας *places* allowed them at the *ſhewes*, inſtituted by *Sphyromachus*. Therefore to return reſpect again to the people of the houſe: as at his coming into the Country, he ought to do reverence and Sacrifice to the *Genius* of the place, ſaluting the ground with a kiſſe.

Ovid. Met. l. 3.

Cadmus agit grates, peregrinaque oſcula terræ
Fecit, & ignotos montes, agroſque ſalutat.

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to do Divine Service, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς unto *their* gods eſpecially, or the gods of the *place*: as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy*: and as they themſelves, if they had been from home at their

d. Herc. v. 609. returne, were to do θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάτριοις, (as *Hercules* calls them) to the *Penates*, the gods of the *houſe*. In like manner, at his going out of the Countrey, when he came to the borders he kiſſed the ground, and ſo took his leave of the *Genius*: as

Met. l. 13. *Ovid* ſaies.

—*dant oſcula terræ Troades*—

Whenſoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an incivility to detaine him. *Menelaus* accordingly practiſed, and left it for a rule.

καὶ ξένον πρέπει στέλλειν ἀθλίοντα μὴ μένειν.

And parting they uſually gave ξενικὰ δῶρα, or τὰ ξένια, ſome thing or other for a remembrance, or to bear their charges by the way. Beſides every mans private benevolence, there

was

was πανδοκεῖον, a common Hospitall maintained by the City. Where if any ſtrangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magiſtrate and be righted. Indeed a murtherer or ſuch like perſon, they might not by any means πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι (as he calls it) entertaine him, and give him meat and drink, as being *aquæ & ignis interdictum*.

CAP. IX.

De Pauperibus ſublevandis.

AND now in the laſt place, I have a word to ſay alſo of the good will which the *Athenians* bare to the poor. And certainly if they intended no more than the *Honour of their City*, they would be loath to ſuffer any to become a begger; * of whom *Iſocrates* ſaies in his *Areopag.* τὸν πόλιν καταισχύνει, *that he is a diſparagement to the City wherein he lives.* To prevent the diſgrace, every ἑταιρία or Society, kept a *poor mans box*, or a common Treaſury, for the reliefe of ſuch as came to poverty, and the ranſome of the Captives. Into that box once every month, they uſed εἰσφέρειν ἔρανον, *conferre eranum* (as *Plautus* ſaies *eranum amici contulerunt*) to put every mans contribution; and from thence were the contributers called by the name of ἐρανισταὶ or ἔρανοι πλουσιοι. He that thus came to a *gathering* (as we call it) was ſaid συλλέγειν or κομίζεσθαι τὸν ἔρανον, as in *Ariſtotle* (*Acroas. l. 2. c. 5.*) where he makes this inſtance of a thing κατὰ τύχην, *that happened by chance*; if a creditor, ἔχων τὸ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον ἦλθεν ἂν κομιζόμενος τὸν ἔρανον, *with his Bond in his hand ſhould come to his debtor for money, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the pariſh* (as we ſay) *for a collection*. Such another contribution was that which they called ἔρανον πανωνῶν, appointed by *Ariſtides* for thoſe that aſſiſted him in the Warre againſt the *Medes*, of which *Ariſtides* in his *Lyſiſtrate*. If there happned any controver-

* That there may be no poor among you &c. *Deuter.* 15. 14. So *ſome render* כך אפס בילא אביון יהיה

ſy in this buſineſſe, there were *Ius tesserale*, Lawes and Writs made for the purpoſe.

*L. 9. de Lit. *Plato* ſpeaks very well of this * cuſtome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his anſwer to *Pliny* approves it, permitting the uſe thereof to the *Amiſeni* (for other Cities had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, ſi tale Collationi &c.*

Other proviſion there was beſides this *eranus*, for their reliefe. For the richer ſort were wont every new moon, to make a great feaſt of Bread, and other courſe fare for this purpoſe. Which feaſt being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occaſion to them to call every courſe beggarly feaſt, by the name of *Hecates cœna*. But as bad as the fare was, the perſon in *Plato Ariſtophanis*, took his argument even from thence to commend the condition of the poor, above that of the rich. Saies he —πως ἢ Ἑκάτης ἔξεσι τῶν πενήτων

Εἰπεῖν τὸ βέλτιον, εἴτε τὸ τῶν βλίτων &c.

Aſk Hecate, and ſhe will tell you which is beſt. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, money allowed them out of the Treaſury, to pay for *places* at the *Playes* and *Shewes*.

SECT.

SECT. III.

De Ritibus Bellicis.

CAP. I.

De Militibus.

HAving ſpoken of the cuſtomes uſed by the *Athenians* amongſt *themſelves*, it will be fitting in the next place to ſay ſomething of thoſe which they uſed towards their *enemies*, and after that of thoſe towards either, or both in Divinations.

The Warlike proviſion which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being liſted *inter Ephebos* (which was as I told you, at the age of eighteen) were from that time till twenty, ὁ τοῖς ἐφηβικοῖς, (as they called it) that is, they muſt be *circitores* or *fraxatores*. Or they muſt ἐφημερεύειν τὴν φύλαξιν φρούρια ſtand ſentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employed in the making of Works, and the like: according to that of * *Terence, Video herilem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex piræo abierit, nam ibi cuſtos publicè eſt nunc.* The firſt of the two yeares they kept within the City, but the ſecond they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a ſhield, and a Spear, and a χλαμύς

Harpocr.

* In Eunuch.

or Coat for a Livery. During these two yeares, they could not be compelled to fight ἀστρατείως, *without the Liberties*. But ever after 'till forty they might. And both the first, and every year after, till the end of forty two yeares, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the Ἐπώνυμος, registred in this manner, ὁ δεῖνα ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπωνύμου. *Such a one in pay, ever since such a one was Archon Eponymus*: to shew how long every man had been in service. Of these Ἐπώνυμοι, there were twenty two, according to the number of the yeares from eighteen to forty. They are called ἐπώνυμοι λέξεις, from the λεξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, in which they listed their names after they were twenty years old, and sometimes ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικιῶν, because they thus kept a note of every mans *age*: in opposition to Ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν, who were but to keep a note of their *Tribes*. Now some there were that were *exempted*, and some that were *excluded* from that service: the former were such as Custom-holders οἱ τὰ τέλη ὠνούμενοι, who therefore had the priviledge ἀτέλειαν: or the χορδωνοί, *i. e.* οἱ τῷ Διονύσῳ χορδεύοντες, *Bacchus* his *Salii*, or *dancing Priests*. The later were οἱ θῆτες slaves, and all such *proletarious* People, who were not to be employed but in case of necessity, nor had the honour ἐν καταλόγῳ στρατιώτου, which the others had, For *they*, as soon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus* ὁ καταγράφων τὴν ἴλαν, were listed by the Πολέμαρχος, or General (as many as he καταλέξαι *made choice* of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the κατάλογος, or Muster-role, which he kept for the same purpose, having beside that another πίναξ or Table-book, for such as were *Emeriti, out of service*, and discharged. After they had been listed by the General, they were to be listed again by the under officer the ὁ τάττων, or the foot by the τοξάρχαι, and the Horse-men by the φύλαρχοι. The τάττων were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much armour, βαρυτάτῳ ὁπλίτῃ and were *gravis armaturæ milites*, with their wide Shields and long Speares. Ἄλλη φυλὴ *Levis*,

Ulpian. ad Olymp.

Aristot. de Rep. Ath.

Levis armatura milites, such as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the sling. And 3 ly. Μεσαπλοι, a middle sort between both, with their πελται or ἀσπιδες, *narrow shields, and short speares.* Such as they made choyce of for Horsemen, were to be δυνατοι τὰ χρήματα χρήματα (saies *Xenophon*) *able both in body and purse* and therefore were to be examined first by the *Senate* of 500, before they could be listed; and so were likewise the Horses themselves, to try whether they were ἀκατάσκευοι *skittish*, or τυφλοὶ (as the Scholiast calls it) *Noyse-proofe*. And this they did τῷ κώδωνος ψόφῳ, *with a Bell*, or a *Kettle-drum*, or a *Pipe*, I know not which I shall render it. And now I am put in mind of the κώδων, which they used to make a noyse withall, when they did φρουρᾶς, *Walke the round* to try whether the Guards were asleep or no, which they called Κωδωνοφορεῖν or Κωδωνίζειν.

—Κωδωνοφορεῖτε, πανυχὶς
Φυλακαὶ δ' ἀνῆπται.

Insomuch that Κωδωνίζειν, is used for the same with Πειράζειν, *to try, or prove* (as in *Aristophanis Batrachis*, ἐν τοῖς κωδωνίοις) and ἀκατάσκευος for ἀπείρατος *intentatum*. (As in *Lysistrate*, ὑμᾶς πάντας ἐπῆλθε δεῖν ἀκατάσκευον ἐᾶν τὸν πόλεμον οὕτως.) If a Horse had been τετριμμένος *worn and beaten out* with long service, they marked him in the Jaw with the sign of a τροχὸς (a *wheele* I think) & gave him his τροχισμὸς, (for so they called both the mark and the discharg it selfe;) whence came the proverb used by *Eupolis* ὥσπερ ἵππῳ πρεσβύτῃ τροχισμὸν, to give a man his τροχισμὸν, that is his *discharge*. All their Horses the Greeks reckoned to be consecrated to the Sun, and *Beda* upon the *Kings*, gives this reason, *Audientes Græci ab Israëlitis, (quos divinas habere literas fama prodebat) quod Heliæ currus igneo, et equis igneis sit ad cœlestia translatus (vel certè hoc ipsum inter alia depictum in pariete vidêtes) credidêrunt vicinia decepti nominis Solis hic transitum per cœlos esse designatum, et miraculum divinitus factum commutarunt in argumentum erroris*, &c. because

Hesych.

lias once was carried up to Heaven with Horſes, therefore *Helios* or the Sun, muſt be thought to have horſes conſecrated to his ſervice ever after.

The horſe-men, firſt, ſome were ἱππόμαχοι, that had two *mates to fight*, with Armour for the purpoſe, and a boy to hold their horſe while they fought a foot (a faſhion of *Alexanders* own inventing.) Some were ἵππαγωγοί, that had two *Horſes*, one to ride upon, and the other to lead, from ἄγω. Their manner of life was very high and ſtately, for many times they would μεταιβάζειν, that is, have a *tranſvection*, or ride into the City in Pomp and triumph, with a Coach and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, uſually called by the name of a ξυστίς, as it is in theſe verſes.

l. Poll. 8. c. 10.

Οπποῦ μέγας ἦν ἄρα τις ἀνὴρ παρὰ τοῖς
Πάλαι Μιλησίοις ξυστὸν ἔχων.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horſe, or ſit in the chaire. *Auriga* then were called ἡνιόχοι, and were better than παρήορος, who lookt to the Coach onely.

The number of the Horſemen was greater or leſſe, according to the number of the people. Otherwiſe (as *Pollux* ſaith) every ναυκραρία (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Moſt of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *aſſidui*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, inſomuch that they reckon'd it a very diſgracefull thing to be *ararii*, or *mercenarii*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers pay, what it was, becauſe it was ſo often changed, I think I had better be ſilent. And concerning the habit, and diet of others onely this, that a Law made by *Cimon* and *Phrynis*, forbad them to be ἁβρυδιαίτους, *dainty* and to weare long haire, as ſome ſay: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant onely of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, ἵνα μὴ παρέχωσιν ἐν τῇ πλησίον ἀντιλαβὰς τοῖς πολεμίοις, *that the enemy might have no hold-faſt*, ſaies *Plutarch* in his *Theſeus*, where he ſaies alſo that the faſhion

fashion being first used by *Theseus* was therefore called Θησηὶς.

CAP. II.

De Armis quibus vim propulsabant.

THE first makers of Armour are said to be the *Lemnians*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Metall whereof it was made, at the first was Brasse, saies[a] *Pausanias*: but for want of Iron, saies *Hesiod*. a In Laconi.

χαλκῷ δ' ἐπιχάζοντι, σίλας δ' ὑπὲκ ἔλκε σιδήρου

The most noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the *coat of Mail*. The most noted thing in the Helmet, was the *Crest*, invented by the *Gæres*, and therefore called by *Alcæus* Καρηκόρυθος. The thing or the part wherein, or whereto it was fastned they called τρύπημα, and to fasten it τρυπᾶν. Homer.

Πλαγχαὶ δ' οἱ χροὸς ἀμφὶ ἑκάστῳ ἐστερεώντο.

The Creſt was double or treble, according to the quality of the person. For if he were an *heros* it might be treble, saies[b] *Euripides*, and *quadruple*, saies[c] *Apollonius*. b In Oreſt. c L. 3.

Τετρήνεα φοίνικι λόφῳ ἐπιλάμπετο πίλος.

The stuffe whereof it was made, was usually feathers, and the hair of a Horse taile, and thence it is that it is called ἱππουρις, and ἱππόκομος τρυφάλεια in[d] *Theocritus*; and that it is said[e] πεχόμενον when the hair fell off. The other parts of the Helmet bare the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as ὀφρὺς the *eyebrows*, & the rest, except the *Penthouse* τὸ γύαιον. Of the *Shield*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of several kinds, for sometimes it was made of Oziers woven together, according to that of *Virgil*. d Id. 23. e Aristoph. Pace.

—*flectuntq; Salignas*
Umbonum crates— Æn. 7.

(but then they called it ἰτέαι) and sometimes of wood: but most commonly of raw Oxe-hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid Hesych.

laid one upon the other. *Ovid* saies *Ajax* had *Septemplicem clypeum*, a Buckler that had seven pieces or foldings in it, and *Achilles* another that had ten. Neither was this all, for it was done over with Brasse besides, as that of *Achilles* was,

—& as & prima rupis
Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

[a] Troad. v. 1336 And therefore in [a] *Euripides* it is called χαλκόστρωτος ἀσπὶς. For the forme of it, it was sometimes long, sometimes round, and sometimes square. The names of the several parts of it you may have in *J. Pollux. L. 1. c. 10.* Onely thus much I may tell you, first for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deal of curiosity, both for shew and for use, as having σύγγραμματα ornaments to be seen, and συγκόλλαματα little holes to see others by, set in the ἴτυς, or the border. And 2ly, for the invention of them, the handle by which they held it, called πόρπαξ, or τέλαμων, or ἔχανον, was invented by the *Cares*, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it καρικὸν ἔχανον: and so were likewise the *umbilicus*, and the *armes*, and most of the rest. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they used to put a Shield and a Crest into the Grave along with him. The *Armes*, (τὰ σημεῖα, or ἐπίσημα) were different, according to the quality of the *bearer*. *Vlisses* had his ἀλεκτρυόμορον; *Idomeneus* Grandchild to *Sol* a *Ronst-cock* the *avant courenr* to the *Sunne*. But the *Heroes* anciently, and for the most part, used to bear Eagles, ἀετοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων γράφειν τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χαλκωμάτων. To the Arms, they added *verses* in commendation of the prowess of the Person by which he deserved those Armes, and the names of the maker; such as *Pausanias* relates upon that of *Idomeneus*. The *case* or *Theca* wherein the Shield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like *cases*, according to that in *Andromache*.

Strabo l. 14.

* Aristoph. in Ran.

In Eliac.

Eur. v. 1617. Κἀπὶ σάγμα τὸ χαλκοῦν δύσεται

Rhodiginus saies, that in the use of the shield, there were some things which they observed to be *ominous*: for if it happened

L. 21. c. 14.

pend to ſtrike their knee, they counted it lucky: but if they ſtruck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill ſigne. The moſt famous ſhield that ever I read of in heathen writers, was that of *Jupiter Ægiochus*, named Αἰγὶς, becauſe he covered it with the skin of his nurſe the goat called *Amalthea*, this ſhield he beſtowed upon *Minerva*, who ingraved upon it the *ſtone-making* or *aſtoniſhing* head of *Meduſa*. Whether that *Scutum ſacrum* which *Alexander* is ſaid to have ſtolne, and to have carried alwaies before him, were the ſame with this or no, I know not. Their ſhields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the fashion was alſo for the other ſorts of armes) they ſuffered not to have their *Wanes handles*, (or ſome ſuch neceſſary appurtenances) that ſo in caſe there ſhould be any inſurrection, they might be the leſſe ready for uſe, which was the cauſe why he in the Poet cryed out ſo as he did, when he ſaw it otherwiſe.

Οὐκ ἀσπὶς, ἥντε σὸν ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔχουσι νέοι.

For ſaies another a little before

Οὐ γὰρ ἐγχέλυς, οὔτε σάκος ἐστὶν ἐν ἀσπίδι δῆμος
Ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἁρμόζουσιν.

The *Coats of Mail* were of three ſorts: the firſt ζῶμα, which reached from the navell to the knees: the ſecond ἡμιζώμιον, which covered halfe the breſt, ſuch as *Polyænus* reports to have been much uſed by the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great. The third θώραξ, which reached from the ſhoulders to the navel, ſo called τὸ τὰ σώματα θύραν, from *preſerving* the *heart*, and the breſt: from which peculiar office of it, *Ariſtophanes* in *Acharniſtibus*, borrows the word θωρακίζειν, for to ſignifie to be well nigh drunk, (as we ſay when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well armed againſt the cold) and ἀποθωρακίζεσθαι, to ſignifie ἀποθεραπεύεσθαι, *drunk to the top*. Now a *Thorax* was either ὁλοσίδηρος, all of one piece, plain like *tunica reflexa*: or elſe ἁλυσιδωτὸς, with *chaines* or plates of iron put between the leather (as it is in our Coats of Mail.) The *leather* I ſay, becauſe it was uſually made of a hide (τὸ

Etymol.

Aristoph. in Pace.

So they say that the Latine word *Lorica*, comes from *Lorum* the dryed and tanned hide, whereof it was made. According to that of *Virgil*,

Qui pelle latet humeros contectus aprina
Pugnasque aperit.

The holes where they put out their armes *Aristophanes* calls *Sauroma*, by a Metaphor from the holes of a boate, where they put out the Oares.

Aristoph. in Pace.

The *Colour* most in use upon their Armes, Cloathes or cressa, &c. was crimson red, either to make themselves the lesse afraid, if they saw their blood, being used to the colour, or else that the enemy might be the lesse able to perceive it, if they should chance to be wounded. From the *Phœnician* colour, the *Lacedemonians* called their Coat (or Crest, or what it is) *φοινικίδα*. In allusion to whose *red bloody* colour, the Poet in *Acharnenses* speaking of having a few beaten till the blood came, thus expresses it.

Idem.

Let's cut him and worke him, and belabour him, till we make his skin like a purple.

Idem.

To carry the *Provision* in, every man had his *σάκκος*, or thicke *canvas* bag, a kind of basket (*fiscinam*) made of Osiers (*ἐκ βύβλου*) with a long narrow neck. And therefore the Poet having used the word *σάκκος* to signifie such a thing, in the same Comedy uses the word *σακκίον*, to signifie *any thing that had a neck as long as that thing*. Their ordinary provision was Cheese, and Olives, and Onions. Their quantity commonly so much as would serve for three dayes, according to that of the same Poet still, and in the same Comedy, where speaking against the troublesome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in this.

Τρεῖς ἡμέρας τὸν σῖτον ἐκπολεμεῖν.

Those too often repeated *Orders for three dayes provision.*

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Armis quibus vim inferebant.

THE *Armes*, or the *Weapons* they used to fight with, were in ancient time clubs (used also for putting of Malefactors to death) called by * *Homer* ῥόπαλα, according to that of *Horace*, * Il. 4.

Unguibus & pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porrò
Pugnabant armis quæ post fabricaverat usus.

But afterward they came to Speares, a weapon so highly esteemed, that some would not stick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Eustathius*: τὸ ἔγχος μέγα σέβας εἶναι ἐνίοις καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ θεοποιεῖσθαι δοκοῦν. Where σέβας, some say signifies to worship, and so they say of the word *numen*, used by *Cicero* in his book *De Nat. Deorum*: *Nihil ego Epicurum omnia stulta numerâsse*. This it is reported of one *Phrando Alexander* a Tyrant, that having killed his unkle *Polyphron* with his Speare, he took it and crowned it with Garlands, and caused it to be adored by the name of ἥρωα. One would have thought it sufficiently honoured, to be used by Kings instead of Scepters, as *Justin* saith it was, or at most to have a place in the Temple or else to have been dedicated to a god, as *Plutarch* saith it was to *Pallas*, (because of ἀκόντιον the proper word for *dardus*) and to be joyned to the statue of the god: for so it commonly was among the Latines especially, whence it came that *hasta mota*, *speaking of the Speares*, so often spoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted such a grand *prodigium*. If there were none of this, yet the respect they gave to them will sufficiently appear, in the care they took of the keeping them: For while they slept in the field they fastned it εἰς αὐτοῦ, which *Pollux* interprets, the *butt-end* of the Speare made (it may be) with a *cleft* for the better hold fast, *quasi* αὐτοῦ from ἄω. But *Eustathius*

ne saith it was an iron with a sharp tail like a snake, to be set in the ground, and hollow head; Ac set the speare in, from ὁ Lacerta, a Lizard, which it resembled. When they came home, they set it in a long wooden case, made of purpose by a pillar of the house.

Odyss. 1. Ἔγχος ὃ μοι ἵστασκε κίων ἔντοσθε δόμοιο

saies Homer, and Virgil has the like.

Æn. 12. Exin quæ mediis ingenti adnixa columna
Ædibus astabat, validam vi corripit hastam.

The custome first ἀκοντίζειν to vibrate the Speare before they used it, to try the strength of it, was so constantly kept, that ἔγχεσπαλος, a spoke-speare, came at length to be an ordinary word both in Homer and in other Poets to signifie a Souldier. When the Greeks began the use of Bowes, I know not: but it seemes they had such things, and Hesychius in the word ἰοφόρος, saies they made the strings of Horses hair. Swords likewise they had, which they used to hang by their sides, διὰ παραπόρπης by belts, or strings of leather, as they did the shields: and the strings came over the shoulders as ours do.

ϛ. on Il. ϛ. Hesiod. Ὑπὲρ δ' ἄρα οἱ ὤμοιϊν ἔχεν ἀσπίδα.

What other offensive arme they had I know not. But the Scholiast upon Euripides, in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled most in the defensive, and that the Barbarians were better at the offensive.

CAP. IV.

De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, consulendi deos, observandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.

AS carefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike affairs, I cannot find but that they did *propriè sequi quæ pigent in suam sedem*, a greater affection to Peace, as may appear

in

in their honourable receiving of Embassadors, to whom they gave *lodging* in no worse place than a *Temple*, and their *entertainment* in the *Prytaneum*. The usuall Ensigne carryed by Greek Embassadors, was κηρύκειον *caduceum*, a *right staffe* of wood with snakes twisted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whether the ware to affright them from discord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth*, a seed of dissension sometime sown by *Cadmus* among *Dracos* friends, is but κατ' ἐμὸν *my conjecture*, and a bolt perhaps too *soon shot* to hit the marke. An Embassadours allowance was two δραχμαὶ a day, which they usually called τὰ μισθοφόρα. If the Peace could not be *kept*, but they must needs have warre, yet they would be sure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamations of their intensions, before they marcht. The manner in proclaiming Warre, was to send a fellow of purpose, either to cast a Speare, or let loose a Lamb into the borders of the Country, or into the City it selfe, where they were marching, (which *Hesychius* rather thinks to have been the signall before a battle,) thereby shewing them ὡς ἀνθρώπων οἰκήσεως ἔσται χώρα νῦν, that what was then a habitation for *men*, should be shortly a pasture for *sheep*, and what was then pasture for their *own* sheep, should be shortly turned to the use of their *enemies*. Before they set forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation; considering and examining whether it were convenient or not: the Gods must be sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners sought to, and all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City searcht into: for this course the [b] Tragedian makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of Athens, upon the coming of *Eurystheus*. Then besides this, after the manner of other Nations, Jewish, Latine, and Per-

[a] *Demosth.* 2. ἐν Ἀριστοκρ.

Etym.

[c] *Homer in Batrachom.*

Diogenian.

[b] πλὴν τό γε ἐν τραγῳδίαις ἔθνος σφάγια δ' ἀπεμασσάλευσε, Εὐρυσθεῖ, οἷς ἐχθρῶν ἐν φίλαις κακορυμπόλει λόγχαις

sians

sian, they used to vow one thing or other to be devoted and consecrated to the god, in case they prevailed: such as was that of the Tithe of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vows of the like price. Nay the Athenians were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, reflecting the gods silliness of such courses, and commending the frugality of the Lacedæmonians.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of dates. For as the *Lacedæmonians* thought it not good to march *ante plenam*, till the *full* of the Moone: so neither did they think it lucky either to march *ante novam*, till the *first* day of the Moone, or to make any Commanders till the *new* of the Moone. In marching, the General used always τὸν κέρας ἔχειν, to *keep himself in the right horne, or wing*. The Souldiers but newly entred (οἱ νεωστὶ) kept themselves ἐν τοῖς μέσοις τῶν ἀσπιστῶν, *in those parts*, or those *Corpora*, as the Romans called them, which were lesse in danger, such kind of service was from thence called τροφὴ ἐν τοῖς μέσοις, and some times ὑπηρεσία. When they came to a River, before they went over they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called θύειν τὰ διαβατήρια. No passing without a prayer,

——ἐκ δ' ἔβη οὐδ' ἐπέρησε πρὶν εὔξατο.

The Romans always observed the like custome, when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly called the action *Petronij auspicari*.

a Aristoph. in Eq.

Suidas.

Hesiod. l. 2.

Festus.

CAP. V.

De ritu Canendi prælium, & de usu tubarum.

When they fought a Battle, after they had killed a victime and looke upon the gall, then away to the *Torches*: for ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος ἀνὴρ ἔλαμπε, instead of sounding a Trumpet, they had fellowes whom they called λαμπάδας, that went before with Torches, and throwing them downe in the midst between

b in Eurip. Phæn.

between the two Armies gave the signe,

Primaque per varios Lucifer ortus equos.

Obtrahit Bellona facem. Statius Th. 4.

Lycophron in his Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ, and Pindar in Ἀμφιτρύωνι μάχᾳ seem to allude to this accentive or incendiary. Now this businesse they might do safely, and without any danger. For the Torch-bearers were peculiarly protected by Mars, and accounted ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἄρεως in so much that it became a proverb, when any Army was totally defeated, and ἐκ κράτους ἡττᾶσθαι. Those Torches Euripides in Rhesus calls πυρὸς λαμπάδας, where he saies that the Achivi ἔφυγον them, that is, refused the fight.

ἐκ τοῦ Εὐρ. Rhes. ἐπεὶ δὲ λαμπὰς πυρὸς ἐς στρατὸν πάλιν ἔφυγε, τοῦτο δὲ ἦν σημεῖον ἐκ τοῦ κρατεῖν.

Qui clamus ei, audiunt facem
Fugere Achivos.

I better in my mind than *Qui audiens ignis facem accensam adhuc in eff, ut credat fugere &c.)* Nay, not only when they would signifie their intentions to *fight* with the enemy, *to the enemy himself*: but also when they would signifie his approach to *others*, to have their assistance, they made use of Torches also, which they called δᾷδες. The word rendred *faces*, and you may render it *Brands*, or *Firebrands* if you will, for they are made of dry wood, or sticks, that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. And they had men that did nothing but watch *Watches* in the Towers of Forts, as we do at the Beacons. If the enemy came in the night, they fired the Brands, if he came by day, they raised a smoake. But I must tell you, there were also Torches or Brands to be lighted upon the approach of their friends also, as well as enemies. But with this distinction, that the last were held out, and not still, but the others were rolled and shaken to and fro.

Καὶ φρυκτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων, ἐν νυκτὶ μὲν πυρὸς, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ καπνοῦ. Aristoph. in Vesp.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ ἑκατέρᾳ δᾷδας ἔχοντες ἐκινοῦμεν ἄνω καὶ κάτω.

Lucian. Bis Accus.

Bacchides Torches *lashed* not always. For afterwards they came to make use of Trumpets, according to that of Æschylus

ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ κατέχων σάλπιγγα ἐμπνέει φοβερὸν μέλος.

In Persis.

In-

In or *accendit* still, perhaps in a metaphor from the fire of the *Torches* once in use. The first invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* to the *Tyrrheni*, from whom it is conceived to have been first brought into Greece by one *Prometheus* a Tyrrhenian, as the same Scholiast reports in the same place, ὁ δὲ Προμηθεὺς ὁ Τυρρηνὸς ἐφεῦρε τὴν σάλπιγγα, καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς ἐδίδαξε. and therefore he calls the Trumpet προμηθικὸν κῶας from the inventer. As the Poet himself had done before, both in his *Phœnissæ*, and his *Heraclidæ*: where he saith it was used when they joyned Battle, and that then it sounded ὀξὺν ἀύλησε *a long blast*, like that in the book of *Judges* (of which word I have spoken before.) There was a time when shields did serve for Trumpets *concha quæ sonantes*: and then you might easily construe that riddle of *Theognis*.

De Signali, de Athletarum pœnis & præmiis, & Sepultura.

IF it went well with the Army in the fight, the messenger that was sent with the newes was adorned with Garlands. In the mean time those that were at home and continually look't for newes, used to sacrifice to the gods in the water, εἰ δὲ καλὸν ἦν ἀγγελίαν κομίζειν, ἐστεφανοῦντο, καὶ ἔθυον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὕδασιν, *If it were good to bring it along the way, they crowned themselves, and sacrificed by the waters.* For close conveying of the intelligence I suppose they had several waies. Whether they made use of the Εὐριπιανὸν κανοῦν, I know not. If you please, you may read the description thereof in *Gellius* at full out of the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in his Ἀχ. Where he saies, that they made them two kinds or tools, *unius & longi*, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carryed by the General

a Ἐπὶ δ' ἐμοὶ ἐσάλπιγξεν ἀμείβων τὸν πρότερον τὸν Τυρσηνικὸν ἐκεῖνον σάλπιγγος ἀύλησε λάβρον ἀϋτήν. v. 83.

b C. 6. 5.

c Ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι θέουσι. *Soph. Trach: & in Aristoph. Eq.*

L. 17. c. 9.

neral along with him. When they meant to send him any private message, they took a piece of μόλιβδος a skin, or parchment, and wrote upon it, so as it could not be understood, unless it were rolled upon those staves, and the parchment and the staffe one applied to the other. This Lacedemonian trick (as it seems by the Poet; whether he spake in jest or in earnest, I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athenians, among a great many other things, out of a *Laconomany*, as he terms it, or a humour like that of the English towards the French.

Ελλεσποντιάζουσι πάσης ἀρχουσι πόλεις
Σκυτάλαι τέσσαρες.

If any one turned αὐτομολος, *transfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he suffered death. If he had been ἀστράτευτος, and *would* not, or δύνατος and *could* not, fight for fear, or if λελοιπὼς τὴν τάξιν, or βλάπτων, he had *left his rank* or *thrown down* his *Armes*, he was registred and delivered to the *Heliastæ* to be punished as they pleased, and not to come to the Temples, till he had satisfied justice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward.

Vide supr. Æschines contra Ctesiph.

Eurip. Heracl. v. 966.

Οὐ χὴ τὸν ἀνδρα γ' ἐν ζωῇ θ' ἁλόντα τὸ μὴ χρῆ.

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two ὀβολοὶ, saies *Hesychius:* (but *one* saies *Harpocration*) every day out of the publick Treasury: but first they were to be examined by the Parliament of *five hundred*, whether they were ἀδύνατοι now ἀδύνατοι were οἱ ἐντὸς πέντε μνῶν κεκτημένοι, saies *Harpocration*, those whose estates came not to so much as three *mina*. Such as were *slain*, their Children were maintained out of the publick Treasure, till they came to be twenty years old, and then they had a πανοπλίαν, a *Suit of Armes* bestowed upon them, ἀναμιμνήσκων τῶν πατρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, *to put them in mind of their fathers exploits*, and to keep them from degenerating. They had the honour also προεδρίαι, of having the formost seat at *shewes*. If they buried the party slain in the same place (as they did all at *Marathon* fight) the fashion

Vid. Supr.

Plato.

ſhion was then to make a ſhield his Bier, as twas before to make it his *cradle*, according to thoſe words of the Lacedemonians *virago* to her Son, as ſhe was helping on his ſhield, a Ἄρμα σὺ φέρου, ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ; either do thou bring *the ſhield home again, or let the ſhield bring thee*; nay and to make it his Coffin too ſometimes, as it ſeemes by the ſaying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Aſtianax*.

a *Arma ſupervehere quid, Thraſibule, tua? Auſon Epig.* 24.

Ἀλλ' ἄνω κόμιζε, σπεύδειν τι χαίρει
Ἐν τοῖς θανοῦσι ταχύ.

At the buriall, the reſt of his company Marched in equipage thrice about the *Pyra*, ſhaking their Armes and throwing their ſwords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the fire or the grave after him. But for the moſt part, they were allowed a publique buriall upon the common charge, at home in the *Ceramicus* all together. And then three dayes before the buriall, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the burial day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypreſſe wood, and carrying away each one their bones, put them in the ground with ſeverall pillars and inſcriptions, and one ſolemne ſpeech for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed to have their Armes in their Shields, or elſe placed in the ἄκρον, and honoured with the name of *Cecropidæ, Citizens of the true old blood*: according to that

Thucid. l. 3.

Οἱ κρατίστην Κεκροπίδαι γόνου ἔχω.

Eurip. in Phœn.

Sometimes ſuch as had the *firſt fruits* (or the *prime*) of the ſpoyles, were adorned with a golden στέφανος:

Ibid.

Καὶ νικᾷ χρυσῆν στέφανον ἐς δόμους ἔχων
Λαβὼν ἔναρχα πολεμίων σκυλεύματα.

CAP. VIII.

De Trophæis.

FOr *memorials* of the victory, ἔστησαν τρόπαια, *they erected Trophies*: (you may write τροπαῖα, if you had rather follow the moſt (a) ancient, than that which is neweſt in faſhion.) Trophies were uſually *pillars* of braſſe, or ſtone, or wood. And the wood ſometimes *clive* (τὰ τρόπαια ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐτίθεσαν, ſaies *Dionyſius*) and ſometimes the trunk of an *Oake*.

—*Quere uſque trophea*
Curva tremens—

Thoſe Pillars among *them* anſwered to the *arcus triumphalis* among the Latines. Only *that* might be overthrown, but *theſe* might neither be taken away, nor reſtored again, if conſumed with age or the like, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀνακαινίζοντες ἐκ τοιούτων ἐπιδοῖεν τὸ ἐπιμάχθιον, leaſt they *ſhould thereby rub up the old ſore and revive the grudge with their enemies*. And therefore ſayes the ſame Author, ὅτι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιῶν τὰ πρῶτα τροπαῖα ποιησαμένους *Thoſe that made them Trophies of braſs were looke upon as contentious men, and haters of Amneſty*. Now upon the Trophie, they ingraved an ἐπίγραμμα, declaring the cauſe of the Warre and the manner of the Victory: ſuch a one as *Othryades* wrote with the blood of the *Argivi*. The like *inſcriptions* many times were written upon other things. For *Pauſanias* having conquered *Mardonius* at *Platea*, did not only at *Byzantium* write it upon the *Cup*, which he conſecrated to the gods of the place, (as *Athenæus* reports to his diſpraiſe for his arrogance) but alſo upon a *tripus* beſides, which he cauſed to be made of Gold and ſent to *Delphos*, with this inſcription

Βασιλεὺς ἀρχαγὸς ἐπὶ σωτῆρι βωμὸν Μήδου
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

Wherewith the Lacedemonians being diſpleaſed blotted it

(a) Οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ σκληρῶς, οὐ νεώτεροι πεφιεξυπνῶσι. *Ex Ariſtoph. Plut.*

Plut. in Roman.

Stobæus de Fortuna.

Thucid. l. 1.

clean out and instead thereof, engraved the names onely of those Cities, by whose help they obtained the victory. And so when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they caused an inscription to be set up in the vault called [a] Ποικίλη.

[a] Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναίοις Εὐτυχῶς. *Eurip. in Heracl. v. 937. In Odyss.*

In *Cicero's* (*b*) time (it seems) the custome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he sayes, that the *Thebans* were accused for erecting a Trophy over the Lacedemonians. But instead of them, they erected sometimes altars, (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amanus*) and sometimes Images to *Jupiter* τροπαῖος (so called from causing the enemy τρέπειν to turne their *backs*: as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for causing their own Souldiers to *stand* to their ground) such a one as *Hyllus* and ἀριστεῖα (as I told you before of ἄριστος) *good or valiant Iolaus* erected.

—Βέλτιστε Διὸς, πρόμε καλλίστευ ἔρκευ.

The *Spoyles* which they took (σκῦλα from the the dead, and λάφυρα from the *living*) they usually dedicated to the gods, and sometimes sent them to *Delphos*. The common name for such things was ἀκροθίνια, *quasi ἀπ' ἀκρογωνίας*, saies *Eustathius*, as if it were παρὰ τὸ ἄκρα τοῦ πολέμου: the same name which they gave to those goods, which Merchants consecrated for delivery from shipwrack (only that then there is a new Etymology, *viz.* ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκτὴ *a littore avertendo*, ἀφ' ἱμωσίας δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ σῶσαι, because the things were saved from being cast *on shore*.) But I rather incline to the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles Trachinia*, who saies those ἀκροθίνια, or the *first fruits of the spoyles* which they Sacrificed to the gods were called ἀκροθίνια, because they used to lay the spoyles, which they had taken, together on a heap, and then ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ, they skim'd away the *Creame*, as I may say, or the *Crop*, or the *Choyce* to be given back for the gods that gave them. In allusion whereunto *Megara* in *Euripides*, (speaking what choyce of Wives she had made for her sons out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expresses it thus:

Ἐγὼ γὰρ υἱοῖς ἐκ πόλεως ζηλωτὰς

The

The Armes which they took, ἀνέθεσαν they *hung up* for the most part in their Temples (and sometimes in their own houses) as they did their *own*, when they left the service, as *Horace* sayes,

—*Vetavius, armis*
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.

Some of the spoyles they hung upon the Trophies, but *wrote* them [b] all. For that was the custome, τὰ σκῦλα οὐ γράφουσιν ἀλλὰ κρεμῶσιν ὑπεράνω saies the *Scholiast*.

[a] Τρόπαια ἵδρυον ἐπὶ παλάμαις ἔχοντα ὅπλα πολεμίων— *Eurip. Heracl.* v 786.

[b] *In Phaniss. Eur.*

LIBER

LIBER SEPTIMUS.

SECT. I.

De ritu Divinandi per motum furentem, & somniantem.

THERE were not many things in use among the Jewes the People of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, do not seem to have imitated, and so *vice versâ*. Such as the Prophets were among them, such were the *Magi* among the Persians, the *Chaldei* among the Assyrians, *Gymnosophists* among the Indians, the *Gallcota* among the Sicilians, and the *Hetrusci* among the Italians. Neither was the *honour* or *credit* of *Divination* lesse than the *use*. For if we may believe [a] *Strabo*, Οἱ μάντεις ἐτιμῶντο ὥστε καὶ βασιλεῦσι ἄρχειν, *many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings:* To a Persian King it was *necessary*, to any other *convenient*. *Amphilochus*

[a] L. 16.

Iachus, and *Mopſus* Kings of *Argivi* were *Augures* too. *Helenus* and *Caſſandra* Children of a King, one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sybill*. But to a *Phyſitian*, it was reckoned ſo neceſſary, that *Æſchylus* has uſed ἰητρὸς a *Phyſician*, and μάντις a *Prophet*, one for the other, which made *Achilles* in time of the Peſtilence, to ſeek to μαντικὴ for a cure. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer* ſpeaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polyidus*, that were excellent in both Profeſſions. Credit it had among the beſt Philoſophers (eſpecially that of Dreames, and *Enthyſiaſmes*) maintained by *Plato* and the Socraticks, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Ariſtotle* and the Peripateticks. *Pythagoras* indeed was againſt *extiſpicina*, Divination by entralls, and only *Epicurus* againſt that and all the reſt.

Prediction of things to come, was either from *men*, called Μαντεία: or from the *Gods*, properly called χρησμὸς an *Oracle*. According to that of the (*a*) Scholiaſt upon *Sophocles*, χρησμὸς μὲν ὁ ἀπὸ θεῶν, μαντεῖα δὲ ἀνθρώπων. Indeed μαντεία ſeems to be the *genus*, and χρησμὸς the *ſpecies*. The ſame Prophefy which when it was ſpoken by a god, was a χρησμὸς, when it was delivered by (*b*) men, was μαντεία. In the *Oracles* the word was *Fari* (*neque me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet*) where as in the *other* it could be but *præfagire* at the wiſeſt. The faculty in the firſt ἡ μαντικὴ (as we now called it, ἐνθουσιαστικὴ ἐμβολή τις) or ἡ μαντικὴ as *Plato* called it (for, as *Tireſias* ſaid, ἐγὼ μαντικῆς μᾶλλον μαντικὴν ἴσχω) is divided by *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, into τεχνικὴν *artificioſam*, that which is acquired by obſervation and experience, *obſervatis longo tempore ſignificationibus &c.* And 2ly, Ἄτεχνον ἀΐδιον *naturalem*, for which we take little or no paines. Theſe two *ſpecies* are ſaid to be ὁ διπλοῦς ἄδυτος μαντεῖος, the *twins*, or double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeathed to *Janus* his ſonne, and to his Family after him. The natural or infuſed faculty of *Divination*, moſt properly called μαντικὴ, proceeded firſt ἀπὸ φορᾶς φρενῶν, from a *Frantick motion*. Which though they took it for a help to prophefy; yet it ſeems rather to have been

[a] *In Oed. Tyr.*

[b] *Ennius.*

[c] *Plato.*

Eurip. in Bacc. 199.

been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophesy of *Isaiah c.44. v.25.* said he would *make their diviners mad.* And *Cicero* himself sayes 'tis very strange, *ut qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos assecutus sit*, that he that hath lost his own sense, should be able to know the sense of the gods. Hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick speeches of dying men: such as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of six men that were of the same age, which should be first, and which next and so along. Or else it proceeded *à motu somniantis*, from a doting dreaming motion. And then they called it ὀνειροπολικὸν, which because it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a stone *tumbling down the hill.*

The first kind coming by *Enthusiasme* of Inscription, was either of lesse authority, such as *Cassandra* had, or *Polybius* Prophecying his sons death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny. Or else of greater, so as to command a belief: such as the Sybill women had, or the *Pythia wench*, who delivered the Oracles, which was nothing but a cunning trick, *à vafris quibusdam & quæstuariis inchoatum*, invented for gaine. The difference between those two Prophets consisted in this, that [a] *Terra vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, natura Sibyllam. Pythia had it inspired or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibylles had it by nature.* Now, because the number of Oracles, and the superstition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens* than in any other part of the world, it may not be amisse to speak somewhat of the most noted of them, *viz. Pythium, Demonaum*, and *Jupiter Hammon's.*

[a] *Cic. l.1. de Divin.*

CAP. I.

De Oraculo Pythio.

THE most noted of the three Oracles was the first. It was called *Pythium*, for the same reason that the Woman

than was called *Pythia*, *i. e.* either from *Python* the ſerpent, that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came, afterward killed by *Apollo*, who poſſeſſed the place by conqueſt: Or from *Pytho* another name of *Delphos* the place of this Oracle, which came from *Pytho* the ſonne of *Delphus*, the ſonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to diſtribute Oracles to all the body of Greece, as the *navill* is to diſtribute nouriſhment to the body of a child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it μεσόμφαλον μαντεῖον, becauſe it was ὀμφαλὸς the *Navill*, or *Umbilicus* the mid'ſt of *Greece*, (ſaies *Strabo*) and not of the *World* as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio poſiti*. And this they came to know forſooth, by the two *Eagles* (ſaies *Pindar*, *Crowes* ſaies ſome, and others *Swans*) which being let fly by *Jupiter*, met both in that place. Nay in alluſion to that name of Ὀμφαλὸς (by which it was commonly called) *Pauſanias* ſaies there was to be ſeen in the Temple a Navill made of white ſtone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the Navill ſtring. But *Lactantius* had rather derive it from ὀμφὴ the Oracle. And *Varro* would by no means yeild to have it derived from the Navill, *quoniam neque locus is ſit terrarum medius, neque umbilicus ſit in homine medius*. But the latter reaſon is defeated by *Vitruvius*, or by any one elſe. The firſt beginner of the Oracle (ſome ſay) was *Tellus*, πρωτόμαντις γαῖα: and ſome *Themis*.

Ἡ πρώτη κατάδειξις θεσπεσίου ἄντρου.

The firſt beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, comming to a den very large before, with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a ſuddain fell a leaping and making a ſtrange noiſe. He that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) ſeeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was and fell into the ſame frolicke; but prophecied too. And thus it fared with divers others, that came thither to the ſame purpoſe. Nay a great many, with the *breath* ἀναθυμιάσεως, or *anhelitus terræ*, (as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the earth, *expired*. Inſomuch that afterward they ſet a *Three-* *Diodor. l. 6.*

footed ſtool upon the hole, and a Maid upon it conſecrated for a Prieſteſſe, whoſe common name was *Pythia*, and her office to put the Oracle into verſe and deliver it out. For (ſaies *Plutarch*) the words are here, only Apollo ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίποδος καθεζόμενος, ἢ οὖς ἐν τῇ ὀπῇ ποιεῖται τὸ πνεῦμα, ſate in under blowing with the bellows to ſet her a *peeping* or a *whiſpring* like thoſe מְצַפְצְפוֹת in *Iſaiah* c. 8 v. 19. Where he ſpeaks of ſuch ἐγγαστριμύθους, or *belly* Prophets that *peep* and *mutter*; ſuch as the *Pythia* was, out of whoſe belly the Divel ſpake his propheſies with a ſmall peeping voice like a childs. But that Prophet in another place comes neerer to us, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt ſpeak out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt, and thy voice ſhall be as one that hath a familiar ſpirit, out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall whiſper out of the duſt.* Now ſome ſay the *Tripus* whereof I ſpake, was a pot filled with *duſt*, thorow which the *afflatus*, the wicked *inſpiration* was to paſſe into the belly of the Wench, and ſo to go forth at her mouth for an Oracle. And therefore it is that thoſe Prophets, which in thoſe times had a familiar ſpirit within them, were commonly called by the name of ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, and πυθωνες, as well as ὀυθωνες, and (c) Εὐρυκλεῖς, the manner of her ſitting, &c. when ſhe took the ſpirit in, becauſe it may not ſo fitly be expreſſed in Engliſh, I deſire to give you it in the words of the Scholiaſt, Ἐπεκάθιζον τῇ τρίποδι ἡ μάντις τὸν πάλαι καταβὰν πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιαστικὸν διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀνέχουσαι, ἢ τὸ τρίχας λύουσα, ἢ ἀφρὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος βλύουσα, καὶ μαινομένη, καὶ ὑποκρινομένη μᾶλλον ἢ ὄντως ἐνθουσιῶσα. She was no ſooner inſpired, but ſhe fell a tearing her hair, and running round, foaming at the mouth, & cutting her fleſh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus ſpeaks of their geſtures. *Sectis namque humeris & utraque manu diſtrictos gladios extremis curunt, efferantur, inſaniunt.* But this peeping may not make me prepoſterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the Wench and the *Tripus*. The firſt Maids name that propheſied in that place, was *Phemonoe*. All the reſt were young Virgins, as ſhe was, till *Echecrates*, a Theſſalian

As I have heard be lately did in a poſſeſſed Chriſtian in the Town of *Barwick*. *Ch.29. v.4.*

Plutarch. de Orac: defec.

(c) And *Eurycles* from *Eurycles* a Prophet of that name.

(d) *Ariſtoph. in Avid.*

Theſſalian, deflowred *Phebus*, and then they made choice of Women of fifty years of age, but made them go in the habit of a Virgin. The [a] cuſtome of thoſe Virgins was, before they went to *ſtool*, to waſh their bodies, and eſpecially their hair in the fountain *Caſtalius* (where the Poëts, a people of the like inſpiration, and *Vates* too were uſed to waſh)

—κἀπὸ ἱερᾶς λουτρὰ— when they ſate firſt on the ſtool, they uſed to ſhake [b] the Laurel tree that grew cloſe by the *Tripus*, and ſometimes to take the leaves & chew in their mouths, as *Lucian* ſaies μαντευόμεν δάφνῃ, for ſo other ſuch Women uſed to do, and therefore *Lycophron* calls *Caſſandra* λαύρῳ μαντευόμενον.

(a) *Scholion Eurip. Phœn.*

(b) *Scholion Ariſtoph.*

The firſt that came to receive an Oracle from them, was *Parnaſſus*, from whence (ſome ſay) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnaſſus* from λάρναξ *Deucalions Ark* that reſted there; *fides penes autorem*. As for *Tripus* (called by the Latines *Cortina*, whence *Cortiniparens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the *cover-tripodes Cortinâ tegit*) It is thought by the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Lyſiſtrate* to have been τρίπους a *Pot* (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Braſſe, but filled with ψῆφοι, or *calculi*, *cuts* or Lottery-pellets (uſually put in ſuch pots) whereof thoſe that leapt out of the pot, (ἐκθορόντα) or leapt and danced in it, when any one came to aſk, according to the ſignification they bare, made up the anſwer. But it is rather thought to have been a thing with three legs (after the faſhion of the common ſort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-bord called τρίπους, (as the table-bords were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called τριπόδης, and his Wench τριπόδισσα.

I wonder that ever people could ſo much *loſe themſelves*, as to go to her that would be ſure to put the buſineſſe in a greater queſtion by the anſwer, and make them more to ſeek, than they were before. But that they were reſolved to be

fooled, becauſe forſooth *Appollo* is λοξὸς *crooked* there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he muſt πλαγιάζειν, be crabbed in his *delivery*, as well as in his *gate*. 'Tis his uſe

Senec. Oed. Act. 2. Sc. 1.

Ambage nexâ Delphico mos eſt deo
Arcana tegere.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon Αἰσχύλος, οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ ποιήματα οὐ κατ' ὀρθὸν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ αἰνίγματος ἐγκείμενα, in ancient time they made their verſes in riddles. Now the Oracles were delivered commonly in verſe, as he ſaies.

——dicta per carmina Sortes. For *Sortes* they uſually called them, and the Verſe for the moſt part was *Hexameter*, inſomuch that this Oracle,

Σοὶ δοτὸν λῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης
Ἀνὴρ ἢ πάντων σοφώτατος σοὶ πατήρ,

Was thought to be none of *Pythia's*, becauſe it was not *heroick* enough to become the Author. [a] *Plutarch* ſaies ſome were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpoſe in the Oracle place. κύττα ἐνθουσιῶντι ἀγχοῦ τοῖς χρηστηρίοις ἀναλίσκειν, *to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verſe.* But one reaſon why they delivered their Oracles in verſe, or in brief, and ſo commonly in obſcurity, was, becauſe the god ἐφθόνει μὲν ἀποκρύπτειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, not willing to conceale the truth altogether, nor yet deſirous to make it known, was faine to have it delivered in ſuch manner, as no body might take advantage to hurt the ſpeaker, if that anſwer were not according to his mind. 'Tis true in later times it *fell* to proſe (when it began to fall in the price) and the reaſon thereof has been ſufficiently diſputed already by *Plutarch* in a Treatiſe of purpoſe.

[a] *De Pythia Oracul.*

The eſteem which they had of thoſe Oracles, was ſuch; that in times of Warre, when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perſwade the ſouldiers to fight. For they might very well be of *Tireſias* his mind, who though he were an *Entrail gazer* himſelf, yet in *Euripides* you ſhall have him confeſſing to *Creon*,

Polyaenus. lib. 2. 27.

that

that *men were ſo apt to ſpeak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for fear, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, beſides* Apollo's *own.*

——Δῶρον ἀθρήσας μέγαν
Χρὴ ψευδομάντιν, ἢ φίλον κεῖσθαι.

And yet it is cleare, that the Woman or ſome body elſe was naught, and *corrupted* very often. *Tully* when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuiſſet, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atque regum, niſi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem eſſet experta*, afterward comes in with a *ſæpidum idem non facit*: But indeed, *ſhe has not been thus a long time.* Nay for three hundred years (I think) before *his* time, *Demoſthenes* could complain ſhe did μηδίζειν, flatter and ſpeak, as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time ſhe was bribed by *Clyſthenes*, to perſwade the Lacedemonians to free the *Athenians* from the *Tyrant*: and another time by *Cleomenes*, to perſwade them to deprive his Colleague *Demaratus* of his place. Neither would *Lycophron* call *Apollo* Καπηλεῖον θεὸν for nothing. *Plutarch de Herodot.*

But you will ſay ſome other body might play the knave, and put it upon her. And likely enough. For ſo *Cicero* thinks they did in that anſwer reported to be given by *Apollo* to *Pyrrhus*, *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere poſſe*. And that, First because *Apollo* did not ſpeak in Latine, 2ly, Because none of the Greek writers mention any ſuch thing. And 3ly, Because the Oracles were not given in verſe in *Pyrrhus* his time. *L. 2. de Divin.*

CAP. II.

De Templo Delphico, de Theoris, & Oraculi ceſſatione.

ALl this while I have ſaid nothing of the Temple, for feare of ſaying too little. So famous and ſo rich as it was with the gifts or ἀναθήματα, of moſt of the Princes or people in the world (inſomuch that *Aphetoria opes*, ſo ſaid

from Ἀείρειν the name of *Apollo*; who was *conſſor Oraculorum*, hath been uſed as a proverb for *abundance of wealth*. I have read of *five* Temples erected in the ſame place at ſeveral times. The firſt was of Laurell-boughs fetcht from *Tempe fields*. The ſecond of *Wax* and *Feathers*, or elſe ſaigned to be made of wings; becauſe the mans name was *Pterus* that built it. The third of Braſſe (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minervæ χαλκίοικος*.) This, ſome ſay, was molten to the ground: others, that it was ſwallowed up by the Earth-quake. The fourth, of ſtone, deſtroyed by fire the firſt year of the fifth *Olympiad*. The fifth, built by the *Amphyctions* out of the holy treaſure in a very ſteep place; with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be ſaid concerning the temple, and the E. I. in the frontiſpiece, the reaſon whereof is diſputed by (a) *Plutarch*, but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Cuſtoms, which the Athenians (the devouteſt ſervants of *Apollo*) uſed in ſending to him: either to *Delphos*, or to *Delos*, to do him honour, or to aſk his advice. The occaſion of ſending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing ſome arduous affairs; or for delivery from ſickneſſe, or the like. When they went thither, they were ſaid ἀναβαίνειν, when they returned again καταβαίνειν. The ceremonies uſed in ſending Embaſſies *extraordinary* to *Delphos*, were neer the ſame with thoſe that were *ordinarily* uſed in the *Delia* feaſt once a year, and they were theſe. Thoſe that were ſent were called ſometimes θεωροί, from the feaſt, ſometimes θεοποί (like Hebrew *ſeers*) a name ſuitable to that of *Apollo* Χρηστήριος in *Pindar* (*Pythy.*) which ſome notwithſtanding interpret to be his Index, or his *Angel* the *Crow*. He that had the ordering of the buſineſſe was called Ἀρχιθέωρος. There were alſo ſent along with them Κήρυκες & Μουσικοί, two that were to be κῆρυκες, or *Emplomes* at *Delos* for that year. The ſhip in which they went, was firſt to be adorned with Garlands by the Prieſt of *Apollo*, and ſo were the meſſengers too on the (b) head, the brow, and the neck, ἡ πρῳρεὺς ἐστεφάνου τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τὸν τράχηλον;

Pauſan. in Phoc.

(a) Περὶ τοῦ Ε. τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς.

(b) Πρῶτα δ' ἱερομνάμονες ἀνέστεψαν δάφνης στεφάνῳ τὸν πρῴρεα. *Apollonius* l. 2. *Argon.*

in

in allusion to the three parts of the soul. The ship was likewise called θησηΐς, and sometimes θησεύς. It was wont to be *Thesæus* his, in which the Boyes were brought, that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at such time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he instituted the plaies, and the solemnity celebrated by the afore said *Deliaste*, when they came to *Delos*. This very ship the *Athenians* kept for his sake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μένειν ὅλον ἀμφισβητοῦντα τὸν λόγον παράδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον παρέχειν, *Insomuch* (saies *Plutarch*) *that Philosophers use to illustrate that opinion, that the body remains still the same, notwithstanding the continual decay, by this similitude.* Besides this, there were four more *naves sacræ*, viz. the *Paralos*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were *sent* for the keeping of the feast and the Sacrifice, were called πομπεῖα. For when they came thither, first they [a] Sacrificed: and then the Maids sent thither from several places, fell a ancing a strange kind of daunce about the Altar, which they called Γέρανον, *Gruem* the *Crane*: wherein their motions being crooked like the Cranes neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings and windings of the Minotaurs Labyrinth, beating the Altar, and biting a a bush of Olives, with their hands behind them (as our boys do at *snapapple*) if so much be imported in the words of *Callimachus*.

Thucyd. l. 5.

(a) Ἐμπυέσις. πεμπαίρωσις, *apud Pind. Olym. H.*

Hymn. in Del.

Πεῖσ' μέγαν ἐς βωμὸν ἀπὸ πλαγὸν ἄλσεϊ λίξω,
Ῥαιοῦ ὑπαὶ κεφάλαιον ἐλαίης ἅπτομ' ὀπίσσω χέρας ἀμφιφαλάρης, &c.

The Altar was Κεραῶν βωμὸς, and therefore called Κερατὼν because it was made by *Apollo* at four years old, of the *horns* of the Goats, which his sister *Diana* killed a hunting upon *Cynthus* hill. The horns were all of the left side, saith *Plut. in Theseo.* And yet in his book *de Solertia Animalium*, 'tis δεξιῶν. Whether it should be rendered of the right *side*, or *right*, that is fit or handsome, I know not. But so strangely were

were theſe hornes joyned together without any Cement, glue or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the *ſeven ſtrange ſights*, Ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τοῖς Δηλίοις θαύμασι, as *Ovid* ſaies,

Muro & innumeris ſtructam de cornibus aram.

During all theſe holy dayes no malefactor was to ſuffer puniſhment. By which meanes *Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty dayes, ἕως ἂν ἡ θεωρία ἐν Δήλῳ ἐπανέλθῃ, ſaith *Xenophon*. When the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeiſance as they paſſed by, which made him complaine ſo in *Euripides*.

In Hippol.

Οὐ γάρ τις μ' ἐς θεωρὸν ὄξιοῖ λιμὸν
Πόλεως ἀνοίξαι συμφοραῖς περισσεύων.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to ceaſe, is uncertaine. Some ſay, *Alexander* put it down. But it appears to have flouriſhed after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceaſed as ſoon as men had wit enough to adviſe themſelves, without ſeeking to him that made it his buſineſſe to couzen them. *Dion* ſaies, it was *Nero* murthered the men at the hole. When it left *Delphos* it went to the [a] *Hyperboreans Scythians*: for *Abaris* a Scythian one of *Apollo's* Prieſts, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The Athenians when all Greece was infected with the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vowes and prayers in the name of the reſt. And it was their faſhion to ſend gifts and offerings thither, as they had done to Delphos. But what need we doubt of the time or the cauſe, ſince we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* aſſerts,

[a] *Pulcher Apollo Luſtrat Hyperboreas Delphis ceſſantibus aras Claudian.*

——Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus,
Delphica damnatis tacuerunt ſortibus antra.
Non Tripodas Cirrha tegit, non ſpumat anhelus
Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
Perdidit infames mendax Dodona vapores
Nec reſponſa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.

The

The Oracle place, (τὸ ἀνάκειον or χρηστήριον) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have been at first a kind of *Schole* for the family of *Cham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abused by the Deyill to this deluſion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almoſt inacceſſible for *heat*, as that place at Delphos was for *height*. *Dodona's* Grove is thought to have been ſuch another *Schole*, *viz.* for the off-ſpring of *Dodonaim*, Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a pair of Doves, that ſhould come from Ægypt, one of which pitcht upon a Beech-tree in *Epirus*, and there uſing the voyce of a man, among other good inſtructions, gave order for the building of a Temple in that place, which was done by *Deucalion* after his ſhip came thither (while I ſpeak of theſe things, I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Arke, and his Dove) beſides the building of the City *Dodona*, nigh unto which this Oracle was. Theſe two Oracles are reckoned the moſt *ancient* of all, and of theſe two, the laſt. Τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον τοῦτο γενόμενον δεύτερον λέγεται εἶναι τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηστηρίων. And therefore a word or two more of it than I thought. It is conceived by moſt, that thoſe *Doves* were certain Women prieſts or Prophets, fetcht from *Ægypt* (the Mart of ſuperſtition) by the *Phœnicians* firſt, and from them convey'd into *Theſſaly*. Now in the *Theſſalian* language, the ſame word which ſignifies a Dove, is uſed alſo to ſignifie a Propheteſs, ἡ πελειάς. *Euſtathius* ſayes, that in the *Theſſalian* tongue *old Women* were called πέλειαι, and *old Men* πελειοί; and that thoſe Propheteſſes being three old women, whoſe names were *Promenia*, *Timarete*, & *Nicander*, either by miſtake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly ſuppoſed to be Doves. The ſame Author alſo ſayes, that perhaps thoſe women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greeks would ſcarce allow to be men & women) for their rude brutiſh language might have been counted as ſo many birds. But it ſeems to have been no ſuch ſtrange thing in ancient times, for Propheteſſes to have the name of Doves. And therefore *Lycophron*

Herodot.

In Il. ξ.

phron calls *Cassandra* by the name φάτιν *Palumbem*: though in another place she have the name of a more tatling Bird, viz. ἀηδόνιδωτὸν χελιδόν the Swallow, The Scholiast upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachinia*) hath another conjecture more, besides that which I named last, *viz.* That these Prophetesses had the name of μελίσσαι: or rather, if you will, the old women, therefore had the name of μέλισσαι, because they were μυριοπολιῶν gray-haired and aged.

Strabo speaks of four Priests called Ἑλλοὶ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δωδωναίου, from the *fens* neer the Temple, *viz.* of *Jupiter* surnamed *Tomurus*, which was a name common also to the Priests. *Homer* calls them Σελλοὶ, saying

—ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ,

Νιπτοπόδες χαμαιεῦναι ἀυσώμασιν ἐν προμάδεσσι.

They used not to wash their feet, and lay upon the ground when they slept. When they gave answer, they got them amid'st the boughs, and so the Oracle was thought to come from the Oakes, when it came but from *between* them. They are called ἀμφιπύρους δρῦς, and ἀμπυκὰς δρῦς, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lycophron* called πελασγὸν ἔλατον. Round about the Temple stood B sons of Braſſe, one just against the other πρὸς ἀλλήλους κειμένους, saith *Eustathius*, of which if you struck but one, all the rest would cry, and make such a noyse, that at length *Æs Dodonæum* became a Proverb. Belike they used to strike the Basons as they used to do other Basons and Pots, with a Ring held by a thread in the hand, and striking the sides of the vessel so many times, to make a Divination by the sounds.

a *Cæco Tomuri jovis augure luco Arbore præsagâ tabulas animâsse Loquaces.* Claudian.

CAP. III.

De Divinatione per ſomnium, ſuper Melotas in Templis, cum obſervatione diætæ.

PRophecying by a *Dream*, was either ὀνειροπόλου, *Somniatoris*, of a *Dreamer* of *Dreams*, or ὀνειροκρίτου *Conjectoris*, of an *Interpreter* of Dreams, ſuch as *Hecuba* ſpake of, when ſhe ſaid ἅς τοι ἐγὼν τοῖς ὀνείρασι. The latter of theſe ſurely belongs to the *technical* part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for an *Art*, as well as any other ſort of *Ariolation*. For he that ſhall object that ſpeaking but *ſometimes* true, does not argue skill, becauſe *ſi ſæpe jactaveris, quandoque venerem jacies*, in *Cicero's* opinion may be anſwered with this queſtion, *Quæ tandem id ars non habet?* Beſides if it were no Art, what talk we of *Xenophon's* Dreams in his ſervice with *Cyrus*; or how came it, that there were ſo many books written of this ſubject? For, to ſay nothing of [a] eleven more that wrote of purpoſe of it, nor of the Treatiſe περὶ ὀνείρων reported by (*b*) *Plutarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his books, *Artemon Mileſius* wrote two and twenty books of it himſelf; and there is a very pretty copy of about fourſcore *Senarii* Verſes in Greek, touching the ſignification of ſuch or ſuch a ſight in a Dream. But the Dream (you muſt underſtand) was not every ὄναρ, or *vain* dream (for ſo does the Etymology import, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνίνησθαι ἀπρακτεῖν, ſaies *Euſtathius*) but ὄνειρος, or ὄνειρος, a *morning dream*, freſh and faſting, ſuch as ὄνειρος is, ſaith [c] *Homer*, which they derive παρὰ τὸ ὑπνῶντα ἀείρειν, which comes about waking time, or ὄνειρος which they derive ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰέναι, and of ſuch is that of *Orpheus* in the *Hymn*: ἀλλ' ὄνειρε ἄναξ Ἄγγελε μαντοσύνων θνητοῖς χρησμοὺς δὲ μέλπεις. I believe few that read me are ſuch as *Plutarchs Thraſymedes*, or *Plinies Atlantes*, that never dreamt of a dream, and therefore I will make bold to detain them the longer. It is variouſly conjectured T.

[a] *Hadr. Jun. animad.*
[b] *In Pompeio.*
[c] Οὐκ ὄναρ, τό γ' ὀνείρατ' ἐπέων, καὶ ἐτήτυμον ἔμμεν. *Hom. Odyſſ.* λ.

Lib. 1. *Divin.*

who was the first *conjectour* in this kind. [a] *Pliny* saies, *Amphyctyon, Deucalion's* son; *Philo Judæus, Abraham, Trogus Pompeius, Joseph, Pausanias* would have it to be *Amphiaraus*, whom he reports to have been deified for his skill, and that they used to sacrifice to him, when they looked for a dream. they talk that the people that lived neer *Boristhones*, and the *Gadæ*, were excellent at this work; and so were those that lived at the [b] *Hibla*, two Cities so named in *Sicily*. But among all, the *old doting women* were best at it.

[a] *Lib. 7. Cap. 5.*

[b] *Pausan. Eliac. Propertius Li. 2. El. 4.*

Quæ mihi non decies somnia versat anus.

When they desired to dream a prophetical dream, sometimes they would sacrifice a Ram to *Amphiaraus*, and sleep upon the fleece. For thus the *Daunii* used to do in the Temple of [c] *Chalchas*. So likewise the *Calabri* used their *melota sheep-skins*, or fleeces, to sleep upon at the Sepulchre of *Podalirius*. And it seems, it was a common practice both for dreaming; for *Virgil* also sayes,

[c] Ἐναίζουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ μῆλα ἐφ' οἷς οἱ μαντευόμενοι ἐγκατακοιμῶνται ἐν τῷ Δηρίῳ *Strabo l. 6.*

—Cæsarum ovium sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnoque petivit.

And also for *purifying* a polluted person in the *Eleusinian* and other sacrifices: for they took the skins of beasts that had been sacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of Διὸς κώδια) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was no small use of fleeces and skins in several other businesses; as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I told you) sate upon a fleece for a cushion, to shew her purpose *Lanificio intendere* of spinning and carding. The *Scythians* play'd mad tricks with skins. For among them, if a man had been wronged, and need of help to revenge himself, he would sacrifice an Ox, and cut the flesh into pieces and boyl it, and sit upon the skin with his hands behind him, and so beg for help Then come his friends, and every one taking a piece of the flesh, and setting his right foot on the skin, promised either men or arms; or what he best could. Such ceremonies as these, they accounted a fast.

Cæl. Rodig.

engage-

engagement, and much conducing to the ſucceſſe. Sometimes they would go and ſleep in the Temple with Laurel, or ſome ſuch fatidical ſtuff tyed about their heads, and ſacrifice to [a] *Brizo*, the goddeſſe of the *dreamers*, ſo called from βείζειν to *ſleep*. The Lacedemonians kept men of purpoſe to *ſleep* in the Temple of *Paſithia*, to watch for dreams. So if any were ſick would go and ſleep in the Temple of *Æſculapius* to *dream of a remedy*, (as they have uſed to do with us, to go watch at the Church door, to know who ſhould dye next) *Pluto* in *Ariſtophanes* did ſo.

[a] Αὐτὰρ ἢ βριζω ἢ ἐν ἄντρῳ μαντικῷ *Athenæus l.8.*

Καπικλίνομαι ἐγὼ πλοῦτον, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν.

And the like was wont to be done in *Ægypt* in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has ſufficiently declared the vanity of all theſe doings in ſaying,

Sat. 6.

Non delubra deûm, nec ab æthere numina mittunt
Sed ſibi quiſque facit.

Beſides all this they took a ſpecial care of their diet, ſo as to faſt for *one* day before, and abſtain from wine for *three*: as likewiſe to forbear eating Beans or raw fruit. *Ariſtotle* ſaies, there is no credit to be given ὀνείροις ἐνυπνίοις, to *dream in the Autumn*. But *Plutarch* queſtions that again, and ſayes if we eat good and ripe fruit, ἄριστον δ' ὠμοῖς, ἢ ψευ- *Sympoſ. l. 9.* ſεται, ἐνύπνια ἀληθεύσει, *our dreams will be the truer*. *Fiſh*, either they counted very good, or very bad. For when they ſacri- ficed to *Brizo*, they offered boats full of all manner of things but Fiſh, whether it were to pleaſe the goddeſſe with the ſparing of the beſt thing, or the rejection of the worſt, I cannot tell. [b] *Plutarch* obſerves that the head of a *Polypus* is as *ſoure* in the *dream*, as 'tis ſweet in the *taſt*: and therefore compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately uſed. Some choice there was alſo of the *colour* of their Cloaths. For the whiteſt and cleareſt was beſt, καλὸν λευκὸν καθαρὸν ἐν ὕπνῳ εἶναι, ſayes *Suidas*: as if Dreams and Viſions muſt needs be the *clearer*. The trueſt dreams (ἐνυπνίασις) or the cleareſt viſions, were either a little after it was day, or toward the

[b] *Cæl. Rhod. l. 27. c. 10.*

morning (the former time [a] *Homer* calls νυκτὸς ἀμολγὸς, *the milking time in the Morning*, in opposition to ἠμέρας ἀμόλγὸς *the milking time in the Evening*)

—ἔγγυθι δ' ἠοῦς
Εἴπερ κ' ἀγχίμολον τοιαίδε τε δόξ' ὀνείρων.

saies *Theocritus*: and [b] *Ovid* was of the same mind. *Pliny* sayes a dream is never true presently after eating & drinking. But *Artemedorus* sayes 'tis all one for that, ἐνίοτε δὲ ἄμφω τροφαὶ δεῖ τὸν ὀνειροπολοῦντα παρέχειν ἰδίων τὸν ὄνειρον, for if you eat too much, the dream will never be the truer, if it tarry till morning.

[a] Ὡς οὔτ' ἀρχὴ ἐστὶ ὄνειρον ἰσχύειν νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ. *Odyss. δ.*

[b] *Namque sub aurora jam dormitante lucerna, Tempore quo veri somnia vera solent.*

CAP. IV.

De duabus portis.

SO great a difference there was in Dreams, that they were fain to make two distinct doors for them to come in by, one of Horn, and another of Ivory. For thus much *Penelope* her self could tell *Ulysses* (when she desired him to interpret her dreams)

Odyss. τ.

Δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων
Αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐλεφάντου τετεύχαται, αἱ δ' ἠλέφαντι,

Ausonius saies as much, telling you which are the true, and which the false,

In Ephemer.

Et geminas numera portas qua fornice eburno
Semper fallaces glomerant super aera somnos,
Altera qua veros emittit cornea visus.

And I have heard of some Christians that have believed the same. *Philostratus* saies, that in allusion to these doors, they used to picture a dream with a white garment upon a black, and a *Horn* in his hand. The door for the *true* dreames was of *Horn*:

Nonnus dion. δ.

Ἀλλὰ θοῶς ἐπόρουσε δι' ἐυτρεφέος πυλεῶνος.

(Surely this was made of the horns of the Ram when they slept upon the fleece. Of which before) the door for the

the *falſe* and *deceitful* dreams, was of Ivory; ſuch as that wherewith *Morpheus* was cozened with in the Poet,

Μόρφεα δ' ὀνείρων πάμπαν ἄπιστα φέρει ὀνείρα
Καὶ ψευδῆ ἐλέγχει δ' ἀναλύσαν πυλάων. *Nonn.*

Lucian therefore ſeeres the covetous *Micyllus* for wiſhing his *dream-door* were of *Gold*, whereas there were but thoſe two in all, as may be gathered by theſe words in [a] *Plato*. Ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ ἐλέφαντος ἴσμεν, ἢ τὰ κέρατος, ἢ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον ἐκδέχεται. The reaſon of thoſe names, I find very prettily gueſſed at by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* at the place above commended, and I ſhall deſire your patience to tell them. Firſt, the true (ſayes he) comes by the Horn-door, or διὰ κέρατος: becauſe τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς τελούμενα, or γενόμενα, that is, *effectum geddunt*, they ſay no more than comes to paſſe, whereas thoſe that come in by the Ivory-door, or διὰ ἐλέφαντος, παραλογίζονται, or ἀπατῶσι, delude the dreamer with a fruitleſſe hope of truth. 2ly, Κέρατον εὐσθολές, the *coming in by the Horn* is as much as coming *clearly*, for one may ſee through horn, if it be made thin: ἐλέφας δὲ, the other *confuſedly*, for one cannot ſee through Ivory, nor any other ſuch white things, as milk or the like, if they be never ſo little, and ſo [b] *Macrobius* does interpret it too. 3ly, By the κέρας is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or ὑπὸ μέρους τὸ ὅλον, *cornea tunica*, the firſt coat of the eye. And by the ἐλέφας the mouth, or the *Ivory-coloured* teeth, ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος τῶν ὀδόντων, and ſo the meaning muſt be, that which is to be *ſeen* with the *eye* is likelier, than that which is but *ſaid* to be ſo from the *teeth*. And this was alſo the opinion of *Servius* concerning the ſame fiction, upon thoſe words of *Virgil*,

Sunt Geminæ ſomni portæ, &c.

4ly, By the *Horn-door*, may be meant the paſſage for the more Heavenly and Diviner ſort of dreames; διὰ τοῦ κέρατος, ἀπὸ τῶν θείων: by the other, the entrance for the χθόνιοι: the more earthly, groſſe, and confuſed, Becauſe the Elephants *Proboſcis* turnes downward towards the earth, whereas the hornes

[a] *In Charmide.*

[b] Speaking of ſleep ſayes he, *Hoc velamen cum in quiete ad verum uſque aciem animæ introſpicientis admittit de cornu creditur, cujus iſta natura eſt, ut tenuatum viſui pervium ſit, cum autem à vero habitat arcepellit, obtuſum, ebur putatur cujus &c. l. c. 3. in Somnium, Scip.*

hornes of other beasts look upward toward Heaven. Ivory, Ἐλέφας, is the door for the false dreams, because there can be no other but false dreams expected, when the *teeth* have eaten too much.

The Guests which are to come in by these doors, were thought to be *Ghosts* and *Spirits* from Hell. *Umbræ, shadows* they might well be: and such as ascend in a *fume* too, like Furies from the nether part of the body. Againe, as Ghosts are

a *Homer. Odyss.* 4. —δῦνάς ἀτειρέα, said to fly in and out like dreams, and death is a sleep: so dreams are said to fly in and out like Ghosts, and sleep is a death. *Lycophron* calls them νυκτίπλανα δείματα, *Night-walking Bug-beares*. Fly they did with *black wings*, like Bats of the night: and therefore *Euripides* calls a dream μελανόπτερον, *Orpheus* μυσόπτερον, *Lucian* σκοτεινόν. If this be so, the reason, why before they went to bed, when they meant to dream, they used to sacrifice a Victime, to *Mercury*, was, it may be, not so much because of his *Rod*, with which he brought people a sleep, and awakened them again, as because he was Gentleman-usher of the Ghosts: for what reason soever it was, it seems *Mercury* was most in their minds when they were ready to sleep: and therefore as at feasts, so at other times, the last of their prayers was to him, and the last health that went round was his. For so we finde *Calasiris* in *Heliodorus*, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, &c. After he had prayed to all the rest of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for

L. 3. *Suidas.* εὐόνειρον νύκτα, *a night of good dreams*. Hence was it that they used to fasten ἑρμαΐσκους, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of Ἐρμῆνες. When they sa-

b *Schol. in Odyss.* 12. crificed that *victime*, they used to take the tongue and b burn it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all tongues and speech to be consecrated, ἀπὸ τῆς λύρας ἢ ἑρμηνείας ἐκλήθη, saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*. With whom

Plut. agrees *Athenæus*, φασὶν ὡς καὶ αἱ γλῶσσαι διὰ τοῦτο Ἑρμηνεῖαι. Others who did not think dreams to be Ghosts, yet would have them to be put into the head by Spirits, as

Plato

Plato who thought the aire to be full of ſuch things. And ſo *Democritus* (as the Scholiaſt reports, who ſayes that he had it from *Homer* himſelfe) thought that men dreamt this or that dream κατ' εἰσκρίσιν ἢ ἐκπόμασιν, or (as [a] *Plutarch* has it from the ſame man) κατ' ἀπόκρισιν τῶν εἰδώλων, *according to this compoſition or ſeparation of Images, or Ghoſts, or Phancies*, or ſomewhat. But indeed I thinke thoſe εἴδωλα, ſhould not be ſo much Images as Imaginations, nor ſo much *umbræ* Ghoſts, as *adumbrationes*, *Images* and *Species* in the phancy proceeding from the *ſpirits* within, and not from thoſe without.

In Odyſſ. δ.

[a] *De Placit. Philoſ.*

CAP. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum luſtrationc.

FOR their *deſcent*, they thought all dreams to have one common mother the *Earth*, χθὼν μήτηρ ὀνείρων, ſaies *Euripides*. And the Scholiaſt upon him gives the reaſon, ἐκ γὰρ γῆς αἱ βρῶσεις, ἐκ δὲ βρώσεως οἱ ὕπνοι, ἐκ δὲ ὕπνων οἱ ὄνειροι, becauſe *from the earth comes meat, from meat ſleep, and from ſleep dreams*. Some indeed thought, they were from *Hecate*, (and ſo they may come from the earth ſtill.) And ſome from the *Moon*, which was all one, and ſuited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the *Kind* of *Dreams*, *Macrobius* makes five, *viz.* 1. Φάντασμα, 2. Ἐνύπνιον, 3. Ὅραμα, 4. Χρηματισμός. Others divided them into Θεωρηματικὸν, and Χρηματικὸν ὄνειρον, Θεωρηματικὸν were οἱ τῇ ἰδίᾳ δόξῃ φαντασιούμενοι, *when things appeared in their owne likeneſſe*. Αἰνιγματικὸν were when they appeared in the likeneſſe of *other* things; when one thing was dreamt and another meant, Such as *Cæſar's* was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and ſo was informed *Imperium orbis terræ portandi, quæ cunctorum viventium ſit mater*, that the whole earth, the mother of every living thing was to be *under* him. Nay the diſtinction of dreams was ſo accu-

curate, that in the making of them, *Somnus* was fained to have no leſſe than three ſervants to wait upon him. For if he would have a dreame that ſhould concern *men*, he made uſe of *Morpheus*, if *beaſts*, of *Phobetor* (as *men* called him) or *Icelos* (as the *gods* called him) *Fit fera, fit volucris—*

Ovid. Met. l. 12. f. 10.

if inanimate creatures (*quæque vacant animâ*) of him that had the name of *Phantaſos*. I wonder how he could remember all the ſhapes, and the river of *Lethe* ſpring in his houſe, and his houſe be as darke a den as any among the *Cimmerii*, for ſo it is fained to be.)

But after all this doting about a dream, is there any remedy, if I meet with any of the beſt? Yes by all means, as ſoon as I ariſe, be ſure to tell it to *Veſta*, or ſome other houſhold *ſtuff*, *diis penatibus*.

Vadit & hinc caſtæ narratum ſomnia Veſtæ
Quæ ſibi, quæque mihi non nocitura ſerent.

Propert. l. 2. Eleg. 29.

Or if you thinke this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo averruncus*, called by them ἀποτρόπαιος, ἀλεξίκακος, or προστατήριος, becauſe his Image uſed to ſtand in the *Porches*. Some had rather to doe it to *Hercules*, and ſome to *Jupiter*, as he does in *Plautus*. But there is better reaſon why they ſhould do it to the *Sun*, viz. ἵνα ἡ ναυμαχία πρὸς τῇ νυκτὶ ἀποτροπιάζηται ἡλίῳ, &c. *Becauſe the Sun being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evills brought by the ſame.* They are the words of the Scholiaſt upon that of *Sophocles*

In Electr.

—ἡλίῳ δ' ἐπεύξω τῷδε, &c. They called this action ἀποτρόπαια ποιεῖσθαι, and ἀποτρόπαια ἐπεύχεσθαι, but moſt properly, ἀποτροπιάζεσθαι τῷ ἡλίῳ. It was practiſed by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when ſhe had dreamt of the fall of the houſe: although ſhe (or the Poet, had ſo much wit as to think it to be) to little purpoſe.

Eurip. in Hec.

Idem in Taur. v. 43.

Ἄκουσα δ' ἦτοι νὺξ ὀπτεύματα
Ἔξω πύλης ἔβαψε δωμάτων ἔσω,

If you thinke that this will not doe neither, try a third remedy, goe make a prayer and waſh your ſelfe luſtily in the

the cold River till you ſweat.

——ſub lucem ut viſa ſecundent.
Ore cælicolas, & vivo purgor in amne. *Sil. Ital. l. 8.*

Or if the River water be not good enough, go to the fountain, as he did in * *Æſchylus.* * *In Perſis.*

Ἐνὶ δ' ἀντίαν ἐς χεῖρ' ἑλιξίβιον
Ἐλαιον πηγῆς οὐ δυσώλη χέει
Βαιᾷ φοινικὶ λουτροῖς λαίπουσι
Θίλγον δόμοι πάλαιον.

If you think no *cold* water will do it, call for *hot*, as he does in *Ariſtophanes.*

——ἐν πυέλοισι θρίον ἔχειν *In Ranis.*
Θέρμετε δ' ὕδωρ
Ὡς ἂν δόξω λουτρῶν λουόμενος.

But perhaps no kind of *freſh* water is ſtrong enough; you may do well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they uſed to waſh away not only the evil of a dream, but of a crime, or diſeaſe, or any thing elſe: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into *Ægypt*, being troubled with the falling-ſickneſs, was bid by the Prieſt, to bath himſelf in the ſea, and being by that meanes cured, he preſently gave this commendation of it,

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

So I remember *Plautus* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for recovery of his ſight. After murther (for other ſins they ſcarce thought great enough, *to caſt hot water*) it was a common practice, and then no fear of the diſpleaſure of a god for the future.

κύων δ' ἀγρίου λύκου
Μίγην βαρεῖαν ἐξανίσταται δίκης.

SECT. II.

De divinatione artificiosâ, & primo, de Ornithomantiâ.

THE *Technical* part of *Divining*, *artificiosũ genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, consisted especially in the observing of birds, and the Entralls of Beasts. Besides which were σημεῖα or κληδόνες ominous words, or things σύμβολα, ῥάβδοι, κλῆροι lots, πλεγμῖνες fights, and indeed ἄτερα μύρια (as the Scholiast saith upon *Homer*) infinite many more: but the two first were every where most in use. *Qua est autem gens, aut quæ civitas, quæ non aut extis pecudum aut Augurum, aut sortium prædictione moveatur?* In the first the *Phrygians*, *Cicilians*, *Arabians*, *Pisidians*, and the *Umbrians* excelled. The *Lacedæmonians* had so great esteem of it, that every King had his Augur to advise him, as well as the Senate. It was first invented, (saith *Pliny*) by one *Car*, *Auguria ex avibus invenit Car, à quo Caria nomen habet: adjecit ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus.* Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*: so that he proved exceeding useful to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only shewing them how they should pacify *Diana* detaining the ships at *Aulis*, and *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling the number of years that the war should last, by the number of Sparrows destroyed by the Serpent in the nest, as *Cicero* renders the verses.

Il. A.

Cicer. l. 1. Divin.

L. 7. c. 55.

Il. β.

Nam quot aves tetro mactatas dente videtis
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos
Qua decimo cadet, & pœna satiabit Achivos.

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for grief, because he could not tell how many Pigs were in the belly of a Sow (say

(say some) or how many Figs upon the Fig-tree (saith *Hesiod*) which *Mopsus*, with whom he contested, was able to tell. The name they called it by was, ἱερομαντικὴ, or οἰωνιστικὴ, It was οἰωνιστικὴ at first with an *omicron*, according to *Plato*, as being τὸ τῇ νῦ ἢ διανοίᾳ περιλαβεῖν ἀπροσκόπως δύνασθαι: but *now* (saith *Aristides*) they write it with *omega* τὸ ὦ σεμνότητος, *to give the better grace to the word*: and it is still used as the old word was, for any kind of divination; as ὄρνις, and οἰωνὸς a *bird*, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the *Augur's* fashion to wear a white garment (whereas it was Purple, or Scarlet, among the Latines. And to have his οἰωνοσκοπεῖον his *place* and his *seat* appointed for the purpose, τὸν θᾶκον, or θᾶκος.

Εἰς γὰ παλαιὸν θᾶκον ἱεραδεμόνων τόπον Saies he in *Sophocles*. And the Scholiast upon the words θᾶκος in *Euripides* saies, it was a place made in *Thebes*, where *Tiresias* used to sit and divine. When they went to it οἱ οἰωνοσκόποι ἐν πλίνθοις ἐγράφοντο τὰς θάκους (saith the same Scholiast) doubting their *memory* might not suffice, they carried their *Table-books* with them, and wrote down the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. This and the *seeing* too *Tiresias* being blind, and only able to *fore-see*, and judge of things as they were told him, was fain to have his daughter to do for him: by which means she her self at length, after the death of her father, became very famous at *Thebes* for her skill in the art. Yea not only the *habit* of the Greek *Augures*, but their manner of observing was different from other peoples. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis signis? Aliter observant, aliter respondent*, saies *Cicero*. The Greeks accounted the *right side* the luckiest, *Græci & Barbaris dextra meliora*: the Romans the *left*. Although (to speak the truth) the *side* was the same, only the *posture* of the *Augures* was different. For the Grecians looked towards the North, and the Romans toward the south, & the word *sinistra* for *lucky* or *good signes*, came not so much *a sinistra manu* from

In Antigon.

L. 2.

the hand being left, as a sinister from the man's being left to his pleasure to set upon his enterprize if he would. So saies *Festus*: and *Cicero* thus, *Quamquam haud ignoro quæ bona sunt sinistra non dicere, etiamsi dextra sint.* But yet this was the manner of speech, viz. For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens alwaies ἐξὶα right (and therefore *Statius* may seem to have mistaken, when he spake of Grecian Augury,

a Ζεὺς Ν σοὶ πρόοιδε τὰ δεξιὰ σήματα φαίνει, *Saies Ajax Hom. Il. 10.*

b *Signa ferax levusque sonet—*) the Romans sometimes *dextra*, and sometimes *læva*; but the one *more suo*, and the other *more Græco*. *Unluckie* birds (a word used among us for an unhappy *mag*) they called ἀριστὰς, or ἀξιδρους, when they fled not, or *pickt* not in their usual height or place. This last word puts me in mind of that saying of *Hippolytus* perhaps in allusion to it.

b *Theb.*

Eurip. Hippol. v. 934.

——ἰωὴ δέ μὲ
Λέπει πτερωτὰς ἐξιδρους ὀρνιθων.

Sometimes they are called κωλυτὰι, or κωλυκὰι *inhibæ*, *alumnæ arcere*, and κωλύειν (as in c *Apollonius*) ab ἐᾶν *cedo*, as who would say *non sinistra*, or *non sinentia*, as I told you before. And such they commonly counted those that had long talons or scratcht their heads as they fled, such (as they say) were seen upon *Cassius* his Tent before his defeat: the Latines call them *Vulsgræ*. But what? is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy against a few paltry birds? yes I have read in *Apuleius* of a trick to kill one or two of the Worser sort, and hang them up at the door: as we use to do dead Crows upon a stick in the field, to scare the living away: Saies he, *Istas nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, sollicitè prehensas foribus videmus affigi, ne quod infaustis volatibus familiæ minantur, exitium suis suam cruciatibus.* Birds that were *luckie* either in their nature, or the place they appeard in, were called αἴσιοι, or ἴδιοι, that is, such as were not ἀξιδρους (*unseatly*, or *unsightly* as we use to say) but appeared πτερυγίσιν ἐπ' ἴδιοις (as d *Æschylus* has it) in their proper *sphear* or *seat*: such they counted Doves, and the *Cuvi* in matters of Love:

c Κέρκαν θ' ἱερᾶς ἀποσμαίνοντα χαλαὶς τόδε πλέκτα. *Saies Æschylus.*

Metam. li. 3.

d Οἷον ἴδιόν τινα ἐν τῷ αἰσίῳ πτερῷ. *Eurip. in Hec.*

as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continuall crowing in matters of War. For hereupon the Augures once foretold the *Thebans* a victory, *Propterea quod avis illa victa silere soleret, canere, si vicisset*, Cock-fightings indeed were usually [a] σημεῖον στασιωτικὸν saith [a] *Artimedorus*, *signes of sedition and discord*. But then you must except the Cock *matches* kept once a yeare in the Theatre, and instituted by [b] *Themistocles* after the victory gotten over the *Persians*, from whom [c] the Cock first came into *Athens*. This bird being alwayes very much lookt upon in matters of Warre, was the occasion that *Mars* was pictured with a Cock: insomuch that it was their ordinary sacrifice to *Mars*, and therefore *Aristophanes in Avibus* calls it Ἀρεως ὄρνις *Mars his owne bird*. All birds (saith one) were either μαντικὰ, or μικτὰ or ἀλλόκοτα. μαντικὰ (I believe) were not many besides Crowes, and Eagles, and Doves, and Owles the most noted of all. Some of them are thought to have had a kind of language, which the Augures came to understand by being licht by Snakes, or some such venemous and veneficiall meanes: *Quo credit ista* (saies *Plinius*) *Melampodi profecto aures lambendo dedisse Intellectum avium sermonis Draconis non abnuet, vel qua Democritus tradit, naminando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur, quem si quisquam ederit, intellecturus sit avium colloquia. Eustathius* saies, that *Helenus* and *Cassandra* were thus licked cleane into Augurs, Ἑλένῳ δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδρᾳ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπὸ ὄφεων ἐκλειχθεῖσιν ὅτι τὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἐσήμαινον καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων σημείων ἐπιστήμονες ἐγένοντο ἐξηγούμενοι μᾶλλον τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς βουλῆς. I am glad I am saved the labour to reprove those fellowes *my self*. For it seems that the wiser sort even amongst them, did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a bird's tale, when they had a mind to be serious. Looke in *Homer*, and you shall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamus* the Theban *Augur*, who had disswaded him from fighting, by reason of some thing or other which he had observed in the Birds) saies hee, *you may, if you thinke good, sit and gaze upon a few foolish birds,*

[a] *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

[b] *Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 28*

[c] *Athen. l. 14.*

Rosin.

Aves,

[2.] *In Aristoph.*

sill

till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion.

Εἰ. οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

In *Aristophanes* you find the birds themselves *ofciments*, *chirping* and *gibing* their spectators of their superstition.

Ἔσται δ' ὑμῖν δεῖπνον, ἀλλοι δαδούχοι φοίβῃ Ἀπόλλωνι,
Ἐλθόντες δ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐν' ἥρως, ἵνα περὶ ἄπαντα πίνωσι.

CAP. I.

De extispicina, & quibusdam aliis.

DIvination by the Entrails of Beasts, or *Extispicina* (for so *Aruspicina*, *Divination in Sacrifices*, is denominated *à potiori* from the best part of it (was more common than that former in all places (*Extis omnes ferè utuntur* saies *Cicero*:) and especially at *Elis* where it was, bythe two families of the *Jamidæ*, and the [a] *Clytidæ*, and *Telmessus* in *Caria* much improved. *Tiresias* had so great skil in this art (I cannot say *insight*, because *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindnesse*) that even after his death, among the Ghosts there were none but [b] his. *Ulysses* himself was faine to trouble his soul to come back again to give him advise. The whole businesse of Divining at the offering of a victime (for there was something else to doe besides poring in the guts) was called ἱερομαντία. And a very solemn businesse it was, being usually attended with a feast, according to that,

[a] *Pindar.*

[b] τῷ γὰρ τεθνειῶτι νόον πόρε φερσεφόνεια
οἴῳ πεπνύσθαι.
Hom. Odyss. K.

—ἵνα τοι τεύξειε δοκεύουσα.
Eurip. Electr. v. 835.

Θυσία, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀνάσκεια, and the act of cutting ἀναιρεῖν. The signes observed were most properly called σημεῖα, and the observers σημειωταί. If the beast were drawn by force to the slaughter, if it escaped by the way, avoyded the blow, fell not downe quietly, bled but little, were long a dying, kept

kept beating the ground, they were all ill signs. For the two latter of them you have sadly expressed in the sacrifice of *Ægysthus*.

---πᾶν ϝ σῶμ' ἄνω κάτω
ἤσκησεν· ἡ δὲ λαιὰ δυσθύτως εἶχε. *Ibid.*

Ill signs, I say those were; and so was any thing else that either was contrary to nature or use, or put themselves to any trouble. Whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with ease, the beast not striving, and the blood presently darting out, as it is said it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus*.

---αἵματος δ' ἀπήρυτο *Idem. v.*
Εἰς δλμ' ἀναπηδῶν ἄφρον ἦρτο. 1603.

Somewhat there was too, which they observed in the very σάλπα or *wagging* of his tail, whence that in the Poët.

---Ἦ μάν σ' ὁ σαλὸς

The beasts that were thus used were antiently sheep, and Goats, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they say) made use of Sows, and the *Samide* of Dogs; which was the reason why *Thrasibulus* one of the pedigree was pictured at *Olympia* with a Dog lying by him dissected, and a Weezle (an ominous creature) creeping over his shoulder. [c] *Paus. in Eliac.*

In *Exsiculation* or *cutting* it abroad, they took most notice of the *Liver*, which [b] *Philostratus* saies they accounted the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chair*, and the *key* of the work. For they thought if the Liver was naught, both the blood and all the rest of the body must needs be so too, insomuch that the work about all the bowels was called ἐκσκευάζειν, ἀναπτύσσειν *looking* into the *liver*. The Concavous part of the Liver was called ἰδία *familiaris*, because the signes which they observed there concerned *themselves and their friends*: the *Gibbous* side, ἐκβολὴ or ἀντικὴν *hostilis*, because the tokens in it concerned their *enemies* (as it was with the Romans). The place or *seat* in which all the parts of the liver lay, was called δίξυ ἀρχὴ: the place between the parts in the middle πυ-

[b] Ἐν ἥπατα, τὸ δὲ τρίπους τε καὶ ἁρμονία τῆς τέχνης. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο πάντα. *Philostr.*

Hesych.

a *Ad Orat. Demoſt. Coron.* λεπτὸν, and ὀξυχόλια. *Heſychius* calls it ἰδὺς, or ἰαχὺς πολὺ, *Euripides* ἀχὺ πολλὴ.

——πυλαὶ δ' ἀχὺς πόλεως
Καπὶ δ' ἤκουον τῶν σκοπούντων ἀγγελοῦς

If there were ἀλὺς (as they called it) too *much dryth*, or λιγνὺς a *tye between the parts*, or eſpecially if it were ἄλοβος, or without a *lobus*, it was a very ill ſign according to that of *Appian* τὸ φῶς ἀλοβωτέρως, καὶ λιγνύος ἐμπλεῶ, καὶ δύσπνοα γαῖς θύεται. *L. 2.* This and other ſuch ſigns becauſe they were ſo bad, that they feared to *go any farther in it*, they called ἀκλιδῶσι. When they came to handle the heart, they called it καρδιὰς, or καρδιωλεῖς. If it were little, or palpitated much, it was an ill ſign. Fat in any part of the bowels was good (κνίσης ἀπλῆς ἀγχιτόμου λαγόνος *Æſchylus*, and ſo were πτυκτὰ πύκασμα *plaits* and *foldings*, ſaies *Euripides*.

When they came to *burning*, then they were ſaid more properly Πῦρ ὀπίσω καίειν. At *Delphos* they had πυρκοὶ *officers* of purpoſe for the work. The *fire* which they made uſe of for this occaſion, was in moſt places made of ſome peculiar fewel, kindled by the beams of the Sun, and kept in a peculiar place. Thus in *Egypt* they had the *Seraphim*, and among the Perſians, the fire which they worſhiped under the name of *Orimaſdes*. At *Athens* they had a torch ſtill burning in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgini* conſtantly there to ſee it renewed, juſt as it was at *Delphos*, and at *Rome* in the Temple of *Veſta*.

Heſych.

Xenoph.

In burning they obſerved eſpecially the flames, whatever he in *Helena* ſay to the contrary, where he ſpeaks againſt all other divinations too. *V. 751.*

Good ſigns in the flame were theſe, if it went upright without a noiſe, if it continued till all were conſumed: or if it ſuddenly began to have the latter ſign, inſteed of ξύλα *cleft wood*, which they uſed at other times, they would get ſmall dry ſticks that would ſooneſt take fire, καὶ ῥᾴγανα, according

cording to that,

Οὐκ ἔχω πῶς μαντικὴν τὴν θύματος πάλαι.

Aristoph. in Pace.

Now indeed many times ἀ γὰρ ἱερεῖα καὶ θύματα, γνώμονες αἱ πυρὸς μάντεις, that is, the Priests being *divinarumque sagaces* [c] *Flammarum, divined by the burning, when there was nothing seen in the cutting:* and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wool (for which reason *Sophocles* calls the bladders μαλλὸν τοῦ κύστεως) put into the fire, to observe in what place it brake, and *which way it darted* the Urine, ἢ τῇ πῇ ἄρα ἀπεπήδησεν. Sometimes they took pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there rose but one entire flame, it was taken for a good sign. In matters of hostility, they took most notice of the *gall*, and the ἀχὲς πύρις τ' ἀκαμαντὰς in the flames: and very good reason, πικροὶ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ, καὶ ῥίζαν τὴν *for enemies are as bitter as the gall they burnt.* Of the Ashes too they took some notice μαντεῖα πολλὰ, saies *Sophocles.* In the smoak they observed if it went upright and smelt of the flesh. And so at other times they used to throw frankinsence and Poppey, and other several things in the fire, for nothing else but to observe such things, and to *smell the smoak.* Besides these there were infinite more *Diveliss* sorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. Νεκυομαντεία or Νεκυομαντία, was sometimes by the magical use of a *bone*, or a *vain* of a dead body, after the fashion of the *Thessalians*, or else by powring hot blood into the carcasse, to make it answer a question, as *Erictho* does in *Lucian*,

[c] *Sil. Ital.*

Euripid. in Phan.

Μάντεσι μᾶλλον πτοεῖσθον, ἢ μυκωμένης ἀκαμαντὰς πύρις τ' ἀκλαυτὰς καὶ ῥίζαν τὴν ὑπὸ χθονὸς, μαίνεσθαι δ' ἐχθροὺς ὁμοίως τοὺς θέλοντας κακῶς.

[a] *In Oedip. Tyr.*

Καλὸν δὲ καπνὸν θυμάτων ὀσμὴν τ' ἔχειν.

Ἀνέῳξε δ' αὐχένα πρὸς πλείστην τροφὴν.

Horac.

—Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit
Protinus astrictus calvis cruor, utraque fovit
Vulnera &c.—

Now because the *Ghost* or the *Soul* was thus recalled to the body (*—animas responsa daturas*) it was therefore sometimes termed ψυχομαντεία or Σκιομαντεία, *divining by the Soul*, or the *Ghost.* But such as expected any answer thus from the soul *then*, must be sure to be kind to the body *before*

Herod. l. 6. for *Melissa*, the Wife of *Periander*, refused to answer him; because he had buried her body as he should. But surely there was somewhat worse than a foul, else what need of *Lustration* of the party? Such as *Tiresias* used to the [b] *Theban* King, to keep him from the receiving harm. *Hydromanteia* was sometimes by Sea-water, but most commonly by that of a *fountain*, and so was called πηγομαντεία. It was done several wayes 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many a *Poet* too) ὃς ἂν πίῃ τοῦτον τὸν ὕδατος μαντικὸς γενήσεται, saies *Aristides* in his *Orat. de Puteo*. 2ly, By throwing things into it to try whether they would sink or swim, as they did *cakes* in the well of *Ino*. 3ly, By *seeing the Images* of such things as they sought for, especially in the Well of *Apollo Thryxeus* in *Achaiah*. 4ly, By *dipping a glasse* in the water, to know what would become of a *sick* man. For as he looke well or ill in the glasse, accordingly they presumed of his future condition. 5ly, By throwing in *three stones*, and observing the *round* they made in the sinking. Sometimes they made use of Oyl, or of Wine instead of Water: and so it was termed οἰνομαντεία, as when it was done in a Bason, λεκανομαντεία. Λιθομαντεία, was by a *Sederite*, a kind of *loadstone*, which if they wash in Spring-water, would speak like a child. With such a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the destruction of Troy. Κοσκινομαντεία, was by a Sive held up by a Thred, or a pair of Sheers, and turning round at the naming of the party that stole the thing or the like. Of this *Theoc. Idyl.* 3. And I have seen it used by some women, *impia fraude*, or *anili superstitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not leasure (neither indeed is it *meum*) to tell much of other waies of divining, of δακτυλομαντεία, with *Gyges* his *ring*: or of ᾠομαντεία with *Eggs*, which *Suidas* saies *Orpheus* wrote a book of. Or of κριθομαντεία with *barly*, or of λυχνομαντεία, *L. 30. c. 12.* by the *burning of a candle*, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Natural History*, and by *Aratus* in his *Prognosticks*. To which you may adde their common old wives-*Sawes* concerning weather

[b] *Stat. l. 4.* *Pausan. in Lacon.*

ther or the like, ſuch as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to diſparage thoſe more *Aſtrologicall* and *Rationall*, ſuch as that of *Virgil*.

Luna Revertentem, &c. with the reſt.

CAP. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.

ALL this which I have ſpoken is to conjecture by *things*, but there is a way by *words* alſo, by which according as the words were good or bad, they preſaged ſuch and ſuch events Such words were called ἔνδικα or φήμαι, from φάω (ſuitable to the name of *Prophets*:) as *omen* comes from *oremen, quia ſit oreſ* quoth *Feſtus*.) You may render it *voices* (for ſo we uſe to call thoſe propbetick ſpeeches, which we hear we know not from whence, as the Scripture alſo does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*: *Pythagorei non ſolum voces deorum obſervarunt, ſed etiam hominum.* Any words that either boded ill, or ſignified that which they diſliked, they called δύσφημα; and he that uſed them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was ſaid to Βλασφημεῖν αὐτόν to *blaſpheme* him ὀνόμασι βλασφημίαν *Euripides* calls it, where he ſpeaks of certain ominous ſpeeches let fall at a feaſt by a ſervant, juſt as one of the company was going to drink

Βλασφημῶν τι δεινὸν ὠνόμαζεν.

L. 1. Divin.

The Latines call it *obſcenare*, and the words themſelves *malè ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may engliſh it *halzening ſpeeches*. Such words as theſe they had alwaies a ſuperſtitious care to avoid: inſomuch that they would ſay inſteed of δεσμωτήριον a *priſon*, οἰκίαν a *houſe*. And ſo for Ἐρινύας, Εὐμενίδας; and ἔμπλειν ἔνδον for πίνειν, πωλεῖν: for μυδᾶν, ἀγορᾶν and the like. For there is a kind of words, which (as *Tully* ſaies of *Nulla ſpes Reipublicæ*) *non licet*, or (to ſpeak in the phraſe of *Terence*) *Religio eſt dicere*, they made a ſcruple to

Jon. 1188. Epiſt ad Caſſium.

ſpeak, and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other buſineſſe with the gods, nothing was more ſtrictly commanded and obſerved, than ἐυφημία (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy dayes) *to avoid all ominous expreſſions*, or κακὰς φήμας (as they called them.) Which if they were ſpoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to that party whoſe buſineſſe was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them ſo much the worſe. What words were eſpecially counted for ominous, you might give me an account, if you could give me *Suetonius* his book, of which we have but the title, viz. *De vocibus malè ominatis*. Only thus much I may tell you, that when they firſt ſet about any buſineſſe of concernment, they had a ſpecial care to begin with a *Preface* εὐφήμους, or ἐυφήμους, or ἐυφημίαν ἐν, like to *Perſius* his *hoc bene ſit*, and that old threadbare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum, felix, fortunatumque ſit*. Some words there were, and Proper names of ſuch a ſignification, as it was counted a happineſs but to bear them ſpoken. For ſo when *Julus* had ſaid

Plato l. 7. de Leg.

Menſas etiam conſumimus—preſently (ſaies *Virgil*) his father laid hold on the *word* and imbraced the omen,

—ea vox audita laborum
Prima tulit finem, primumque loquentis ab ore
Eripuit pater.—

So *Leotychides*, when he deſired of a *Samian* his aſſiſtance againſt the *Perſians*, asked what his name was, and being anſwered *Hegeſiſtratus*, reply'd, *I embrace the omen* in the *nomen*, or Ηγησίστρατος Ἡγοῦμαι ἐγὼ for Ἡγήσομαι ἐγὼ, is the ſame with *them*, that *accipere omen* is with the *Latines*, that is, to make an ominous ſpeech an omen indeed, and *take* it to my ſelf For indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen: *oſtentorum vires in eorum erant poteſtate, quibus oſtendebantur*, ſayes *Pliny*.

Now the way to *abominate* an *omen*, was either to fling a ſtone at the *thing*, if it were an ominous *creature*, as a Cat, or

or the like: or elſe if it were an unlucky *ſpeech*, to retort it back again with εἰς κεφαλὴν σοι, *tibi in caput redeat, let it return upon thine own head.* Which perhaps, is an expreſſion borrowed from a cuſtome of the ἱππομανεῖς, not only among them, but among the Ægyptians alſo, who when they ſpied any thing in the *victims*, that ſeemed to portend ill to their country, uſed to pray εἰς κεφαλὰς τούτων τρέπεσθαι, that *it might return upon the head of the beaſt.* The like perhaps is uſed in the Hebrew, *viz.* בְּרֹאשׁ לְךָ in ſeveral places of the Scripture: and it puts me in mind of that ſaying in *Seneca*, *Quis non ſi admoneatur ut de ſuis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen reſpuat, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipſius intempeſtivi monitoris abire illa jubeat.* Inſteed of this ſometimes they would ſay τὰ δυσφήμα τοῖς, *dii monerint meliora.* Sometimes upon ſuch an unlucky ſpeech heard while they did ſuch a thing, they would do it *another way*: or do it *again*: as one in *Euripides*, upon ſomebody ſpeaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground, and called for another cup.

Herodot.

Obadiæ v. 15. & 1 Kings 2. v. 44 &c.

Moſch. Idyl.

[b] Ἄλλην δὲ σπονδὴν ἔκχεε καὶ λέγε.

Theocr. Id. 3.

Things ominous, ſome of them were in the parties own body, and thoſe were either. 1. *Marks*, ſuch as ἅλλα ſpots like oyle. 2. Παλμοὶ 3. Πτάρνυσθαι ἐπιλήγοντα, were ſuch as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muſcles, called in Latine *Saliſſationes*, and ἐμβόαι, or *tinnitus aurium*: which if it were the tingling of the *right* ear, it was as good as the palpitation of the [b] *right eye.* Of theſe things *Melampus* the great Fortune teller wrote one book to *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*: and *Poſidonius* another (ſayes *Suidas*) which called Παλμικὴ ἐπιτομή.

Melamp.

Πτάρνυσθαι *Sneezing*, was ſo ſuperſtitiouſly eſteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a *god*, ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν θεὸν ἐνομίσθη, ſaies *Ariſtotle* in his Problems. Which was the reaſon, ſaith *Athenæus*, that they abſtained from eating the *brain*, out of which the ſneezing came: as alſo the cauſe of that uſual prayer of ſalutation ζεῦ σῶσον at a ſneezing: according to that jeer of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long nole;

L. 2.

as

as if he had ſtood ſo far out, that he could not hear himſelf when he ſneezed.

Οὐδ' ἀίω, ζωῆ σὺν, ἔτ' ἀμφὶς, ἠδὲ δεξιὸν
Τῆς ἀτὸς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀριστερὸν πίλον.

Inſomuch that if a man ſneezed at ſuch a *time*, or on ſuch a *ſide*, they were either perſwaded to, or diſcouraged from the buſineſſe undertaken. *Socrates* (and *eminentia naris* as he was) had ſo little *ſenſe* himſelf, as to ſeek advice from another mans *noſe*, and to make a Sneeze ſerve inſtead of a genius or a *demonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumſtances. If a man Sneez'd in the *afternoon* it was a good omen: but ill in the morning; and the reaſon is diſputed by *Ariſtotle* in the *Problemes*. If a man ſneezed at table while they were taking away, or if another happed to ſneeze on the *left* hand of a man; then beware, all is not right. But if it happened on the other hand, all was well. If I may take *Euphrantides* his judgement, encouraging *Themiſtocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground then ſuch a ſneeze, ἀεὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐμοὶ δεξιὰ ἐστιν. Such a ſneeze while *Xenophon* was making his ſpeech, was enough to make him a General. But another, while he perſwaded the Souldiers to fight, was to them ſuch an omen of ill luck, that they were fain to nuncupate a publick vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) *ordinarily* it was reckon'd for *good*, as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was, preſently after a ſpeech made of *Ulyſſes* his return; and revenging himſelf of his enemies.

Caſſium. *Plutarch. de*

Ὣς φάτο, πολλὸν ἐγὼ δ' ἐλάλησα.—and ſo *Penelope* took it (for ſtries ſhe laughing and rejoycing) Οὐχ ἕξει, ὅτε μιν πρῶτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔτισεν. And the reaſon may be becauſe ſneezing is commonly *healthy* and *wholſome*, σωτήριον which perchance was underſtood by the aforeſaid *Euphrantides*, when he added ὅτι δὲ Σωτηρίας πρὸς τὰ ἐμὰ ἔσται τοῖς Ἕλλησι. But now at laſt I muſt tell you of *this* way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long ago

ſlighted

slighted even among the *Gracians* by the wiser sort, for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the Souldiers happened to sneeze, as he was going on shipbord being therefore dissuaded from going by the Master of the ship, burst out a laughing and said, τί δὲ θαυμαστὸν ἐὰν τέτταρες ἀπόντες ἐπτάρωμεν; *What great Omen can it be for one man to sneeze, when there be so many together.* But among the *Romans* a great deale more: for *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries, *Quæ si susceperimus & pedem offenderimus, & corrigia abrupta, & si ternutamenta varia observanda.* *L. 2. de Div.*

Ominous *actions* or *accidents*, were such as these following. First at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much used, to make a piece of the *bake* or *any* other thing; and carry it home *bona fœtæ gratia*, as we say, *for the lucks sake*. This piece of cake, or pudding, or what shall I call it, they called by the name of a σύλλυσις *sanitas*. If in sacrificing the Priest did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unluckie *accident*. This observation the Romans called *caducum auspicium*. Secondly, at a *Feast* this action was luckie, to crown the Cup with a Garland. *—pateræque Omnia indulge.* The reason (saies *Eustathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, because a Garland represents a circle, τὸ γὰρ στεφάνωμα τὸ τελειότατον σχῆμα ἐστὶ, καὶ τέλειον μάλιστα, *which is the most compleat figure of all, and holds most.* Unlucky *Accidents* were such as these, viz. The coming in of a strange black dogge, the craking of a table, the spilling of wine (of which *Democrates* had no more wit than to write a book) taking away while one was a drinking, or a suddain silence. In putting on of the cloathes the right side must be served first; and therefore if a servant had but given his master the *left* shooe first, he was sure to have it. And thus much at *Home*. *Abroad* they had for their Omens, σύμβολα ἐνόδια, or συμβόλαια ἐνόδια. That is (saies the *Scholiast*) πρόσφατα ξυναντήματα, *occursacula, any thing that met them first.* Of such as these one named *Hippocrates* (not the Physitian) and another named *Pellos* wrote their books.

a Σύλλυσις ἔλεγετο ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκπεσεῖν τι ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς μιᾶς θυούσης, ἢ πάντα τὰ ἐκ τῆς θυσίας φερόμενα, εἴτε μέρος, εἴτε σπλάγχνα. *saies Hesychius.* ἐνιαύτιος ἐμπεφυκὸς τῷ κισσύβιῳ τὸ ἀνθεμίον ὅπερ δὴ καὶ στέφανον ὀνομάζουσι τὸ ἀνθινον. *Chrysostom.*

b *In Aristoph. Av. Suidas.*

If a Snake lay to in the way, as to purge the company: or if they met with a Hare, or to Dice with Whelps, or a Pigeon with Cubes. Oh! these things were *malorum, horribilia & abominanda & averruncanda*, abominable sights. So if a man happened to meet with a Blackmore, or an Ape, or an Eunuch, *τὸν μὴτε ἄνθρωπον* such *Lucian*, he must stand forty foot off. Nay if we met with a Weesle or such a creature in the crosse way, we will have no *Comitia* fit for all this day. And *Artemidorus* will give you a reason, why *ἀλώπηξ* should be so much taken notice of, in his *ἀπὸ δρόμου*, or running by: because (forsooth) it is involved to *ἅλως*, that is, (as I think) the letters in each word will signifie the same number, viz. 432. But if it be so, how came she to be such an enemy to *ἅλως*, as to interrupt the course of *justice*? perhaps it was onely then, when they omitted that usuall ceremony, of leading her about the house for a *lustration*, or purge it of *unluckie* things. Infinite many more sorts of Divinations might I mention of this kind, but it will sufficiently satisfie what regard the Grecians had of such Bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes *Apollo Spondius* himself had his *Altars*, and his prophecying by Omens *ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερείων*. So likewise at *Smyrna* he had his *χρηστήριον* in the *Temple* for Omens too (saith *Pausanias*) where the fashion was for him that came for an Omen, first to whisper his question in the *Idols* eares, and then presently stopping his own, to go forth of the Temple, and the first voyce heard after he came out must go for the Oracle. And so much of Divining by a conjecture by art. One word or two of lots, and Ile have done.

Lucian.

Aristoph. in Eccles.

a *L.* 3.

b *Plutarch. de Philadel.*

Aristoph. in Eccles.

In Elucid.

CAP. LIII.

De Sortibus, &c.

THis way of Divination is clean different from the former because in it (as *Cicero* sayes) *temeritas & casus non rerio & concilium valet*. For though there might be *casus* of the *things* in the former, yet there was skill withall in the *person* to give signification. It was *invented* by *Minerva*; onely *Jupiter* took away her *credit*, to make the better trading for *Apollo*. *Casting*, or *Drawing* lots, was either with λιθάρια, or *tali* cast into a box; of with *tesseræ* (γραμματεῖα *Plutarch* calls them) little wooden tables with *letters* upon them *drawn* out of a pot, or *calculi* little *balls* of earth, with marks upon them for the names, sometimes taken out of a pot, and sometimes thrown into a well (whether to see which came up first, or how it was I cannot tell). *Pausanias* speaks of the wooden tables, that they were used in the temple of *Hercules* Βουλαῖος in *Achaiah*. And the like (they say) were used by the *Parliament of five hundred*, with the characters of the ten first letters upon them, to shew to which of the ten Courts every Judge was to go (together with the Image of a rod the ensigne of *Mercury*, the god of *Lots*) he that had the Alpha, went to that Court which had the sign of *Alpha*, & they had the rest to the Courts that bare the names of the letters. *One* of these waies or *all* (which I know not) was so much used by the *Thrie* (the *three Nymphes* reported to have been the nurses of *Apollo*) that at length the word *thria* came to be used for *sortes, lots*, according to that

Τοῦδε γυμβλίνου κλῆρος ἐς τρεῖς ἔβης.

Calculi were much used in *ancient* times in *making of causes*, and in *wrestling matches*, and the like: though (it seems) in *Ciceros* time not so much, *Quis enim magistratus, aut quis vir illustrior utitur sortibus, eatenus vero in loci planè refrigerunt*

In Fabio.

De iis supra.

L. 2. Divin.

runt. In their *Wrestling matches* I have read that they had a silver *pot* called the κώαθος, into which they put little *pellets* about the bigneſſe of a bean, according to the number of the men, two with one mark: and thoſe that happened to draw the *ſame* marke were to Wreſtle together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named ἔφεδρος) was to *come in at Kings* (as we ſay) or to wreſtle at laſt with him that had the maſtery. How they uſed them in *Judging of Cauſes*, has been ſhewed by another already. But that they were uſed alſo by perſons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Ariſtophanes in pace*. For by reaſon that one only was to be put to death in one day, and ſometimes the judgement was reverſed: the Priſoners did caſt lots who was to dye firſt, and he that drew firſt, was commonly called by the name of Ἑρμῆς, the *Mercury*. Thus in the ſhips in a ſtorm, they uſed to caſt lots who ſhould be thrown over board for a ſacrifice. Thus *Euſtathius* ſayes, the lot fell to *Ulyſſes*, juſt as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. And ſo in moſt of the Temples, that were reſorted unto for Oracles, there were κλῆροι *Lots* and a table of purpoſe to *throw* for it, after the receiving of the anſwer, for τὰς βακίδος μετὰ τὸ χρῆσαι ἀναγινώσκουσι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πλάκας ἐμβάλλουσι (ſaies the ſcholiaſt upon *Pindar*) *if I throw ſuch a caſt, the propheſy will be fulfilled, if I do not, it will not.* Nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and the croſſe waies they had their *ſortes viales* (ἀνοδίους κλήρους *Æſchylus* calls them, and Ἑρμῆς is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans. For the party that would know his fortune, carried ſo many cuts about him, with ſeveral inſcriptions: and the next boy he met within the way as he went, he bid him draw: and if that which came forth, agreed with that which he had in his mind: it went for as good a Prophecy as the beſt, according to that of *Tibullus Eleg.* 1.

Pag. 118.

* L. 7.

Pyth. Od. 4.

Ille ſacras puerî ſortes ter ſuſtulit, illis
Rotulit è triviis omina certa puer.

Artemi-

Artemidorus in his *Proœmium* speaks of τῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντεων, Diviners in the *Market*. The originall of this divination *Plutarch* in his book *de Iside, & Osiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. For when *Typho* had put *Osiris* in a chest, and thrown him into the Sea. *Isis*, as he was wandering too and fro to seek him, happened upon a company of boyes at play, and asking of them, they shewed him the place, ἐκ τύχης τῶν παίδων μαντείαν ἔχειν λεγόντων ἀναφανῆναι μάλιστα τὸν τάφον. Καθόλου γὰρ τοῖς παισὶν ὡς ἐμφρονεστάτοις ἐπιχωριάζειν τὴν μαντικήν. Besides these wayes already mentioned, they had another, by opening such a Poet in one or more places, and taking the first verses they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called ῥαψῳδομαντείαν, or ῥαψῳδομαντικήν. And of this are meant the *Sortes Homericæ* we read of. And *Virgilianæ*, which they say *Severus Alexander* made use of, when he met with this verse of *Virgil*.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Nay the Christians themselves have not stickt to practise the like upon the Bible, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregor*. Ἀνοίξαντα τὴν ἁγίαν βίβλον τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. And thus *Hercules* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have ask't councel out of the New Testament, ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας ἐπιπνεύσεως τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκμαντευόμενον, and to have been thereby perswaded to Winter in *Albania*. Sometimes they would make choice of divers satidical verses, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Austin. l. 4. Confes. cap. 3.* Makes mention of these lotteries. *Si enim de Pagania poeta conjuscunque longè aliud canentis atque intendentis, cum sortem quis consulit, mirabiliter consonus negotio sæpè versus exiret.* And this way they say that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. But thus much may suffice of κλῆροι *sortes*, for by κλῆρος in the *singular* number, is many times meant the hint, or occasion given to Diviners to speak what they did. τὸ τυχὸν τῶν ἔνδοθεν τῷ μαντεύεσθαι ἀφ' ὧν οἱ μάντεις ἐμαντεύοντο. *Y. In Eurip. Hippol.*

For the Diviners themselves, *Vates*, or *μάντεις*, as they did but little better than *fain* like Poets; so they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Laurel about their heads, as the Poet a saith of *Cassandra*. For why? *Vt vates præcia lauro*. The Laurel they took to be a thing of special and soveraign vertue, both to set a man a Prophecying (and therefore *Eurip.* calls it *μαντεῖον δένδρον*) and to preserve him from any evill, and therefore very much used in Lustrations, insomuch that they would commonly have the staves they carried in their hands, to be made of Laurel wood. They had their dyet in the *Prytaneum* like *publick* persons, *ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου σιτούμενοι*, saith the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*. There was one more *antient* Fraternity of them, called the *μάντεις ἀδύτου*, *Diviners in private*, saith *Hesych.* Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis*. The eldest was of *Bleon* in *Bœotia*, the next of *Athens* (he that cured the *Lacedæmonian* women of their madnesse) and the youngest of *Cyphus* in *Arcadia*, of *Locris* some men say, otherwise called *Abas* and *Abius*. Answering to these three *men*, the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (in *Irene*) saith there were three *Women* Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sybilla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythræa* and *Surdiaca*. But the first (I believe) had most of the *Spirit of Python*; *and brought her Master most gain by Southsaying.*

a *Eurip. Iphi. in Aul. v. 757.*
b *In Androm.*
c *Acts c. 16. v. 16.*

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done so much for all already, I must be forced to do more yet, and excuse one fault with another. For my desire is to leave thee fully satisfied with my reasons why I did it at all, & why I did it no better. The cords that drew me to do it (and drawn I was) were three, such as twisted together I could by no means break, viz. First the importuning of

my

my friend. 2. The necessity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Customs, for the understanding of Authors and 3. The hopes which I had, by Employment (as by an Issue) to divert my humour of Melancholy another way. The causes why I did it no better, *are as many.* viz. *First want of years and judgement, having done the most part of it in my* Tirocinium (*when I took more delight in these studies*) *as appears by the number of the Authors which I have vited. Secondly, want of health. And thirdly, want of time and leasure, being called away by occasions, that might not be neglected, and by friends that could not be disobeyed. If yet I have given thee but little light, and my labour and toyle be not all lost, I have as much as I desired my self, and thou hast no more than I owed thee.*

Z. BOGAN.

R. W-ARRE,

& C. C. C.

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